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THE  
**HISTORY**  
OF THE  
**Grand Rebellion;**

CONTAINING,  
The most Remarkable TRANSACTIONS  
from the beginning of the Reign of King  
*CHARLES I.* to the Happy Restoration.

TOGETHER

With the Impartial CHARACTERS of the most  
Famous and Infamous Persons, for and against  
the Monarchy. Digested into Verse.

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In Three Volumes.

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Twenty Heads and Three Maps.

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To which is added an Appendix of several scarce and  
valuable Tracts. With the Life of the *Ld Clarendon.*

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L O N D O N :

Printed for J. MORPHEW near *Stationer's-Hall.*

M DCC XIII.

# THE HISTORY

## OF THE Grand Rebellion;

CONTAINING  
The most Remarkable Transactions  
from the beginning of the Reign of King  
JAMES I. to the happy Restoration.

THE SECOND  
Part of the History, containing the most  
interesting and important events, from the  
beginning of the Rebellion, to the happy  
Restoration, is here presented to the  
Reader, in a new and improved Edition.  
The History is now published in two  
Volumes, and is sold by all the Booksellers  
in Great Britain.

Printed by J. Sturges, at the Sign of the  
Three Kings, in St. Pauls Church-yard.  
1714.

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# THE PREFACE.

**A**S to the Design of this Expensive and Laborious Undertaking, it has been already explicated in the Preface to the First Volume; and consequently requires our Silence here, as to that Particular.

Therefore, all that remains, necessary to be said further, is, First, To remind the Reader, of the great Charge and Difficulty the Author has been at, in obtaining Copies of some Original Paintings, which, after much search, have been only to be found in the Hands of such Quality and Gentry, whose Houses happen to be Seated at remote Distances; whither proper Persons have been sent on purpose to make Drawings for the Gravers, which, with the trouble of procuring some dormant Tracts, not at this time to be met with, but by great Accident, have been the only Reasons why this Third Volume hath been so long delay'd after the Two former.

Secondly, That the Work might be render'd the more useful to such Gentlemen, as have, or shall read the Lord Clarendon, and other Historians, from whence these Volumes were carefully abstracted, there are, annex to the Verse which ends with the Restoration, all the valuable Tracts, Libels, Parliamentary-Speeches, &c. which are chiefly taken notice of, or refer'd to, by those worthy Authors aforementioned.

Thirdly, We have also added Three correct Maps, to shew the Situation of those Places, where the most Material Actions were fatally decided, referring to the several Pages in the Lord Clarendon's History, where the same are related. And in that of South-Britain, have drawn a Red Line, that



## The PREFACE.

the Reader thereby may be readily inform'd, thro' how many Counties King CHARLES the Second pass'd undiscover'd, in his escape from Worcester; in which dangerous Fatigue, nothing but Divine Providence could have supported and preserv'd him, from the Rage and Violence of those inveterate Blood-hunters, who pursu'd their Sovereign with such insuperable Vengeance.

Fourthly, The Lord Clarendon's Life, together with his Speeches, Letters, Impeachment, Defence, &c. are herein carefully collected, by a Person well known to be too great a lover of Justice to use any Partiality, or to prevaricate with the Truth. So that the Reader may depend so far upon the Integrity of the Person, who has had the care of the Appendix, as to be under an Assurance, that nothing is foisted in, but what is justifiable by the Originals, from whence the same were taken.

As to the Verse, if any body thinks it too familiar for the Subject, and has the Vanity to believe it might have easily been wrought up to the Sublimity of an Epic Poem; the readiest way to be convinc'd of their Error, is, to put themselves upon the Task; and when they have drudg'd Seven Years, perhaps they may repent that ever they attempted so Herculean a Labour. As to my own part, I must honestly confess, I never intended, when first I undertook it, to perform it better than I have, setting aside some Blunders, which the length and difficulty of the Work have precipitated me into: But, had I had leisure to have written for my Pleasure only, perhaps I might have done it more to the World's Satisfaction; but as times go, and the Nation stands divided, no Man's Labours can avoid Reproach, unless they are such, as, by their Malice and Partiality, administer Comfort to that declining Party, who are always unreasonable.

Therefore I hope the Impartial Reader will consider Seriously of the difficulty of the Task, and judge Candidly of the whole. And so I bid him farewell.



*An Account of the Heads in this Volume ;  
and where they are to be found in the  
Lord Clarendon's Volumes.*

		Clarend.
<b>B</b> RADSHAW ( <i>Serjeant</i> ) Engrav'd by Mr. Vandegutcht. Page 461.		Vol. Pag. III. 245,
<b>H</b> EWSON ( <i>Colonel</i> ) Engrav'd by the same. 464.		253, 267.
<b>M</b> ONTROSS ( <i>Marquis of</i> ) By the same. 474.		III. 357.
<b>L</b> ESLEY ( <i>David</i> ) By the same. 478		III. 401,
<b>C</b> HARLES II. ( <i>King</i> ) Escapes from Worcester. By the same. 483		411, &c. III. 410,
<b>L</b> ANE ( <i>Mrs. Jane</i> ) that King Charles II. rid before in his Escape. Engrav'd by Mr. Vertue. 483.		to 426. III. 418.
<b>H</b> AMILTON ( <i>Duke, alias Earl of Len- rick.</i> Engrav'd by Mr. Vandegutcht. 487.		III. 124.
<b>D</b> ERBY ( <i>Earl</i> ) By the same. 489.		III. 411.
<b>L</b> OVE ( <i>Mr. Christopher</i> ) By the same. 492.		III. 434.
<b>B</b> LAKE, ( <i>Admiral</i> ) By the same. 496.		III. 467.
<b>V</b> AN TRUMP ( <i>Admiral</i> ) By the same. 501.		III. 488, 489.
<b>N</b> ORWICH ( <i>Earl of</i> ) No Head could be got. 505.		III. 265, 266, &c.
<b>L</b> AUDERDALE ( <i>Earl of</i> ) No Head to be got. 508.		III. 124.
<b>H</b> ARRISON ( <i>Major-General</i> ) Engrav'd by Mr. Vandegutcht. 519.		III. 246, 247.
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## An Account of the Heads.

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IRETON (General)	By the same.	537.	III. 467.
PENRUDDOCK (Colonel)	Engrav'd by Mr. Vertue.	545.	III. 456, 457, &c.
HEWET (Dr. John)	Engrav'd by Mr. Vandegutcht.	547.	III. 624.
FLEETWOOD (Lord Deputy of Ire- land)	No Head to be met with.	553.	III. 705.
DESBOROUGH (Major-General)	No Head of him could be got.	555.	III. 695, 696, &c.
ORMOND (Duke)	Engrav'd by Mr. Vandegutcht.	565.	III. 615, 616, &c.
ARGYLE (Marquis)	By the same.	567.	III. 365.
LAMBERT (Major-General)	By the same.	577.	III. 728.
LUDLOW (Colonel)	By the same.	579.	III. 472.
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K. CHARLES the Second.	See his Head, Page 483.	603.	III. 772.
A Map of the South Part of Great-Britain, with the Tract of King Charles the Second's Escape from Worcester.		865.	II. 408, to 426.
A Map of North-Britain.		ibid.	
----- Ireland.		ibid.	

*Several*

Several Original Papers, which the Lord  
Clarendon refers to, here Printed at  
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Articles Exhibited by the Commons againſt Mountague. 612.		ibid.
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THE

*History of the Grand Rebellion.*

VOL. III.

The most

## Remarkable Transactions

Of the First Year of the Reign of

King CHARLES the Second,

*Anno Dom. 1649.*

Including the odd Months of the foregoing Year.

**N**O sooner had the trait'rous Court destroy'd  
 The King, to satiate their Revenge and  
 (Pride,  
 But the same Day\* the Rump, to circumvent  
 His Issue, made an Act of Parliament,  
 Importing, no Man should presume or dare  
 To proclaim, publish, mention or declare  
*Charles Stuart*, call'd the Prince of *Wales*, the Son  
 Of the late King, as Sov'reign of the Throne:

\* January the 30th

A. D. 1649. Or promote any Person to command,  
 As King, the *English* and the *Irish* Land.  
 Establishing at once themselves to be  
 The only new Supreme Authority ;  
 And, as amidst their Rage, they had before,  
 Debar'd the Lords of sharing in the Pow'r ;  
 So now \* they, by a Vote, declar'd the House  
 Of Peers, to useles be, and dangerous.  
 Soon after pass'd an Act, that each of those,  
 Who'd been seclud for appearing Foes  
 To th' Vote of Non-Addresses, should remain,  
 Unqualify'd to ever sit again,  
 And by these Methods did at once translate  
 The Monarchy, t' an Oligarchick State.  
*As Strolling Conjures turn one great Ball,  
 By Slight of Hand, into a croud of small.*

This done, the House thought fit to constitute  
 A Council, call'd, of State † to execute  
 The Rump's Commands, now thinking they'd the sole  
 Supreme Authority, beyond Controul,  
 Believing they'd the Army at their Beck ;  
 But crafty *Cromwel* knew 'twas a Mistake ;  
 However, humour'd them so well, that none  
 Could guess he aim'd to make the Rule his own :  
 So that the Rump a Declaration made,  
 To shew they now resolv'd to be obey'd,  
 Making firm Promise, in a smoothing Clause,  
 To stand by th' Nations Fundamental Laws,  
 And to preserve, from all Oppression free,  
 The Peoples Lives, Estates and Liberty :  
 At the same time erected that High Court  
 Of Justice, having no example for't ;

\* February the 5th.

† Consisting of Forty Persons.

By which they after sentenc'd to the Block,  
*Holland* \*, Lord *Capel*, *Hamilton* the Duke,  
 Altho' 'twas known the *English* Laws provide,  
 That Peers shall by their Peers alone be try'd.

A. D.  
 1649.



*But proud Usurpers, tho' they promise fair,  
 Have no regard to what they say or swear;  
 For 'tis a Maxim, What is basely gain'd,  
 By the same Methods must be still maintain'd.*

The Rump proceeded next to change the Coin,  
 That the King's Image might no longer shine,  
 Hoping the Stamp they had devis'd anew,  
 Might raze out both his Name and Mem'ry too:  
 But his Heroick Deeds and Suff'rings hard  
 Will live, whilst Vertue finds the least regard.  
 They also now consider'd, who'd be proud  
 To serve 'em as Ambassadors abroad;  
 A dang'rous Post in any Foreign Court,  
 After they'd done their lawful Prince such hurt:  
 However, they, at length, made shift to find  
 Such Tools as were accomplish'd to their Mind,  
 Whose Principles or Pride still made 'em run  
 Those Hazards wiser Heads were glad to shun.  
 In *March* they also perfected their High  
 Blood-thirsty-Court at *Westminster*, to try  
 The three foremention'd Lords, who follow'd close  
 Their injur'd Master, to their last repose†.  
 Which frighted many, to forsake the Land,  
 Who, on the King's Behalf, had born Command.  
 Nor were they terrify'd with groundless Fear,  
 Since 'twas propos'd, as plainly did appear,  
 To a Court Martial, that they all might be  
 Destroy'd at once by cruel Massacre;

\* *Earl of*

† *Were beheaded March 9 in the Old Palace Yard.*



A.D. But being put to th' Vote, the No's, to shew  
 1649. Their Mercy, only carr'd the Point by Two.

They also fin'd the City Lord the Mayor,  
 Two-thousand Pounds and turn'd him out his Chair\*,  
 For Two Months space confin'd him to the Tow'r,  
 Because, when they'd abolish'd Kingly Pow'r,  
 His Lordship had more Grace than to proclaim  
 The Act they'd made to overthrow the same.  
 About this time they also laid aside  
 Their Monthly Fast, by reason they'd destroy'd  
 The King, for whose Destruction they had pray'd,  
 And fasted till they'd reach'd his Royal Head.  
 But when the Work was done they thought 'twas time  
 To feast and triumph in their barb'rous Crime.

*How vile a Wretch is Man, who, whilst he breaks  
 The Laws of Heaven, Supplication makes,  
 And prays that an offended God will bless  
 And prosper his audacious Wickedness?*

The Rump, by their proceedings, which were thought  
 Severe, a publick Odium quickly brought  
 Upon their Government, and lost apace  
 The Peoples Love, till dwindl'd to Disgrace,  
 That their Dependance wholly was upon  
 The Army, which they had not made their own,  
 But were at Cromwel's Beck and free to do  
 Whatever he requir'd, and that he knew,  
 Who carry'd fair, but never fail'd to lay  
 Fast hold of all Occasions in his way,  
 To spur the Rump to Matters that might prove  
 A farther less'ning of the Peoples Love.  
 That when conducive to his Ends, he might  
 Dissolve them, and the Publick say 'twas right,

\* March 24.



A. D.  
1649.  


And foolishly, alas, believe 'twas done  
More for the Common-Good than for his own.  
The discontented *Scots* now thought it hard,  
The Rump to them should have no more regard;  
Therefore began to levy Arms, to shew  
They meant to challenge what they thought their due  
The *Irish* Popish Rebels too, for want  
Of timely Care, were grown predominant.  
The *English* Army had been also taught  
So well, by th' Adjutators, that they thought,  
Among the Godly, they had right to share  
The Lands, which, by the Rump, sequester'd were.  
And therefore form'd, to propagate new Jars,  
A Party which were call'd the *Levellers*.  
At the same time the Rump were low in Coin,  
And wanted Summs to forward their Design:  
So that thrice Thirty-thousand Pounds they laid  
Upon the People, Monthly to be paid;  
Which gauling Tax was levy'd with pretence,  
To give their present Army maintenance:  
Kind flatt'ring Letters also they dispatch'd  
Toth' *Scots*, who were too cunning to be catch'd  
With such deceitful Baits, design'd alone  
To wean their Int'rest from the Royal Son.  
The Kirk now seeming fond of standing by,  
For their own sakes, His present Majesty;  
And therefore sent back Word, that they would hear  
Nothing from any House at *Westminster*,  
That had no King, nor Lords, without whose joint  
Concurrence there could be no Parliament;  
Sending their Agents\*, by the next fair Wind,  
T'acquaint the banish'd King, that they design'd  
To levy, for his Royal use, a Force  
Of Sev'nteen-thousand Foot, Six-thousand Horse;

\* Commissioners.

A.D. Tho' wife discerning Majesty well knew,  
 1649. They'd not his Int'rest, but their own, in view.

The Rump, to rescue *Ireland*, did appoint  
 Eleven Reg'ments to be thither sent,  
 Hoping thereby they also should abate  
 The Army-Faction, grown perverse of late ;  
 But now the Soldiers finding, that instead  
 Of sharing Lands that had been forfeited,  
 They were commanded to endure the toil  
 Of further War in a dissett'd Isle,  
 Flatly refus'd to march, replying, they  
 For Reformation fought, and not for Pay ;  
 And therefore would not stir till they had done  
 The Godly Work they had so well begun :  
 One Regiment presuming to cashier,  
 Near *Salisbury*, their Leading Officer \*,  
 Marching away to *Burford*, where they join'd  
 Three Reg'ments more that were of equal mind :  
 But Gen'ral *Fairfax*, and Lieutenant † *Nol*,  
 Sent *Reynolds*, with superior Force, to fall  
 Upon the Mutineers, who soon suppress'd  
 The Faction, kill'd most part, and took the rest ;  
 The Leaders by a Martial Court b'ing try'd,  
 To Death were sentenc'd, and pursuant dy'd ;  
 By which severe Rewards of their Offence,  
 They brought the whole into Obedience.  
 This done, the Gen'als did to *Oxford* move,  
 Where the Learn'd Heads, to manifest their Love,  
 Made 'em both Doctors of the Civil Law,  
 Who, when thus honour'd, did from thence withdraw  
 To *London*, where the Cits oblig'd their Guests  
 With costly Presents and expensive Feasts.

\* Their Colonel.

† General.

*Thus Slaves and Cowards, whom no Vows can bind,  
Are always to successful Villains kind;  
For present safety any Cause espouse,  
Applaud the Victor and adorn his Brows.*

A.D.  
1649,  
~

The punish'd Army being now content  
T'obey, Eleven Regiments were sent  
To *Ireland*, under *Oliver's* Command,  
Appointed Chief \* of that divided Land;  
Who, tho' Great *Ormond* for the King was Lord-  
Lieutenant, yet he soon was overpow'rd,  
And all the struggling Parties there subdu'd,  
By *Cromwel's* Cruelty, who spar'd no Blood,  
But by the Sword, within a Year or less,  
Almost extirpated the *Irish* Race;  
Leaving what he'd not finish'd, to be done  
By *Ireton*, who, by Marriage, was his Son;  
But the Plague snatch'd him to his Grave, before  
He'd time to barb'rously exert the Pow'r  
His Fath'r-in-Law had left him to compleat  
The Work, for which the Son was truly fit.

The King, unhappy Prince, who's glad to shift  
His Quarters, *Paris* for the *Hague* had left,  
Whither the *English* Rump, or Commons-House,  
Had sent their Agent, Doctor *Dorislaws*,  
Whose barb'rous bloody Hand, and black'ning Pen  
Had drawn the Charge against his Sovereign;  
But the first Night he came into the Town,  
As he at Supper sate, was seiz'd upon  
By Cavaliers, who gave him his Reward,  
And left him stab'd with a revengeful Sword,  
Th'Assassins all escaping free,  
Without Obstruction or Discovery.

---

\* Under the Title of Governour.



*A. D.* Soon after *Ascham*, who was also sent  
 1649. To *Madrid*, by his Lords the Parliament,  
 A Scholar, who had written in defence  
 Of his good Masters Disobedience,  
 Was, in like manner, slain by three or four,  
 And bleeding left upon his Chamber-Floor.

The Rump proceeded next to share the Lands  
 And Summs they'd wrested out of Loyal Hands,  
 Enacted an Engagement to be ta'en,  
 And sworn by e'ery individual Man,  
 Who thereby promis'd to be just and true  
 Toth' Commonwealth of *England*, as 'twas new  
 Establish'd, without King or House of Lords ;  
 This b'ing the purport of the Rump's own Words:  
 Who also banish'd twenty Miles from Town,  
 All Loyalists who'd honour for the Crown,  
 Forbidding them, on Penalties, to roam  
 Beyond the Limits of Five Miles from home.

*Thus when two Parties struggle who shall tow'r,  
 And they who have least Right usurp the Pow'r,  
 The suff'ring Side must be enslav'd, in course,  
 For all are Tyrants who command by force.*

The End of the First Year and odd Months.







from an Orig. Painting

Mat. <sup>2</sup> sucht fort.

JOHN BRADSHAW. President  
of the pret.<sup>d</sup> H. Court of Justice.

A.D.

1649.

w

THE  
CHARACTER  
OF

*Sergeant* BRADSHAW,  
*President of the High Court of Justice.*

A Surly proud Perverter of the Laws,  
An impious Judge in a nefarious Cause,  
Who sate enthron'd in that Infernal Court,  
Which made the best of Monarch's Lives its sport,  
Treating his pious Sov'reign at the Bar,  
More rudely than a common Prisoner ;  
And by the Hellish Part the Traytor play'd,  
The rank inver'tate Speeches that he made  
Upon the Bench, proclaim'd himself to be  
The Devil's Equal in Barbarity,  
Having no sence of Duty, Honour, Shame,  
Or any Vertue that can bear a Name ;  
But was so well accomplish'd and prepar'd,  
For that vile murd'ring Task wherein he shar'd,  
That *Lucifer* himself could not have been  
More proudly active in so black a Scene ;  
As if he meant to win the hottest place  
In Hell b' unprecedented Wickedness ;  
Such that no Age before had ever known,  
And never should hereafter be outdone :  
For which, as in his Grave his Body found  
No rest, but justly rotted above Ground.

*So let his Soul, when Death shall lose his Sting,  
Be judg'd with the like Mercy that he judg'd his King.*

The



A.D.

1649.



THE

## General CHARACTER

OF THE

*High Court of Justice.*

**H**AD *Lucifer*, in Malice to the Good,  
 Shook off his Chains and left his curs'd abode,  
 To make the Fall of Man the more compleat,  
 Beneath the umbrage of a pious Cheat ;  
 And had he rang'd the Universe to find  
 A dire Cabal, accomplish'd to his Mind,  
 The envious Fiend, to gratify his Spight,  
 Could not have muster'd, in his tiresome Flight,  
 A Sett of Ruffains, fitter to effect  
 The wicked'st Plots his Malice could project.  
 No *Jewish* Sanhedrim was ever, sure,  
 So gravely Vile, so barb'rously Demure,  
 As that Sham-Court, who had the Face to mock  
 And doom ev'n God's Vicegerent to the Block ;  
 Patch'd up of moody stubborn Hypocrites,  
 Hurry'd by Zeal and Pride beyond their Wits ;  
 Who, in their Looks, wore outward Signs of Grace,  
 But in their Hearts were infamously base :  
 Born in dark Corners, as obscurely bred,  
 And far from Home, to seek their Fortunes, fled ;  
 Where they were nurs'd in a dissenting Way,  
 And taught, perhaps, at once, to thieve and pray :  
 By Blood and Treason rais'd beneath the Wing  
 Of daring *Cromwel*, who pursu'd the King

Into



Into the Jaws of this nefarious Brood, A. D.  
Who, like their Leader, thirsted for his Blood, 1649.  
That they might raise themselves to Wealth and Pow'r, vvv  
Whose Fathers had been Scoundrels long before ;  
Honour'd with here and there some wicked Man  
Of Note, drawn in to grace the black Divan.  
Of such as these that Heath'nish Court was fram'd,  
By whom the best of Monarchs was condemn'd  
To suffer, for a just and brave Defence  
Of his wrong'd Kingdoms and his Innocence :  
But Heaven, to revenge the Martyr's Cause,  
Brought some beneath the Justice of the Laws ;  
Whilst others, for the precious Blood they'd spilt,  
Like Cain, were doom'd to wander in their Guilt,  
That, ere they dy'd their Consciences might feel  
The Stings and Terrors of a future Hell.

*Curse on those Teachers whose rebellious Tongues  
Applaud and Countenance such daring Wrongs.  
How can they say that they believe in GOD,  
Who prosecute their Ends in Christian Blood?*

---

THE

A.D.

1649.

w

THE

## CHARACTER

OF

*Colonel* HEWSON,*The suppos'd Murderer of the King.*

**A** One-ey'd Wretch, obscurely Born and Bred,  
 When young, of *Crispin's* gentle Craft by Trade;  
 But when the Civil Wars broke out, forsook  
 His Garret, and to Arms himself betook;  
 And proving of a Nature bold and base,  
 For any Mischief fit, improv'd apace,  
 Till he, at length, grew noted for a smart  
 Audacious Fellow, and in Arms expert;  
 Who having, in his Youth, acquir'd the Cant  
 And true deportment of a Factious Saint;  
 Abounded also in the Gift of Pray'r,  
 And other Knacks, which then encourag'd were;  
 That from a worthless Scoundrel he, in time,  
 Did to the Office of a Col'nel climb;  
 And in the black Tribunal had the Grace,  
 Among the barb'rous Crew to take his place,  
 And in disguise, as 'tis reported, stood  
 Upon the Scaffold when his Sov'reign's Blood  
 Was made a Sacrifice, to quench the Thirst  
 Of those whose Race are by his Fall accurs'd;

Nor

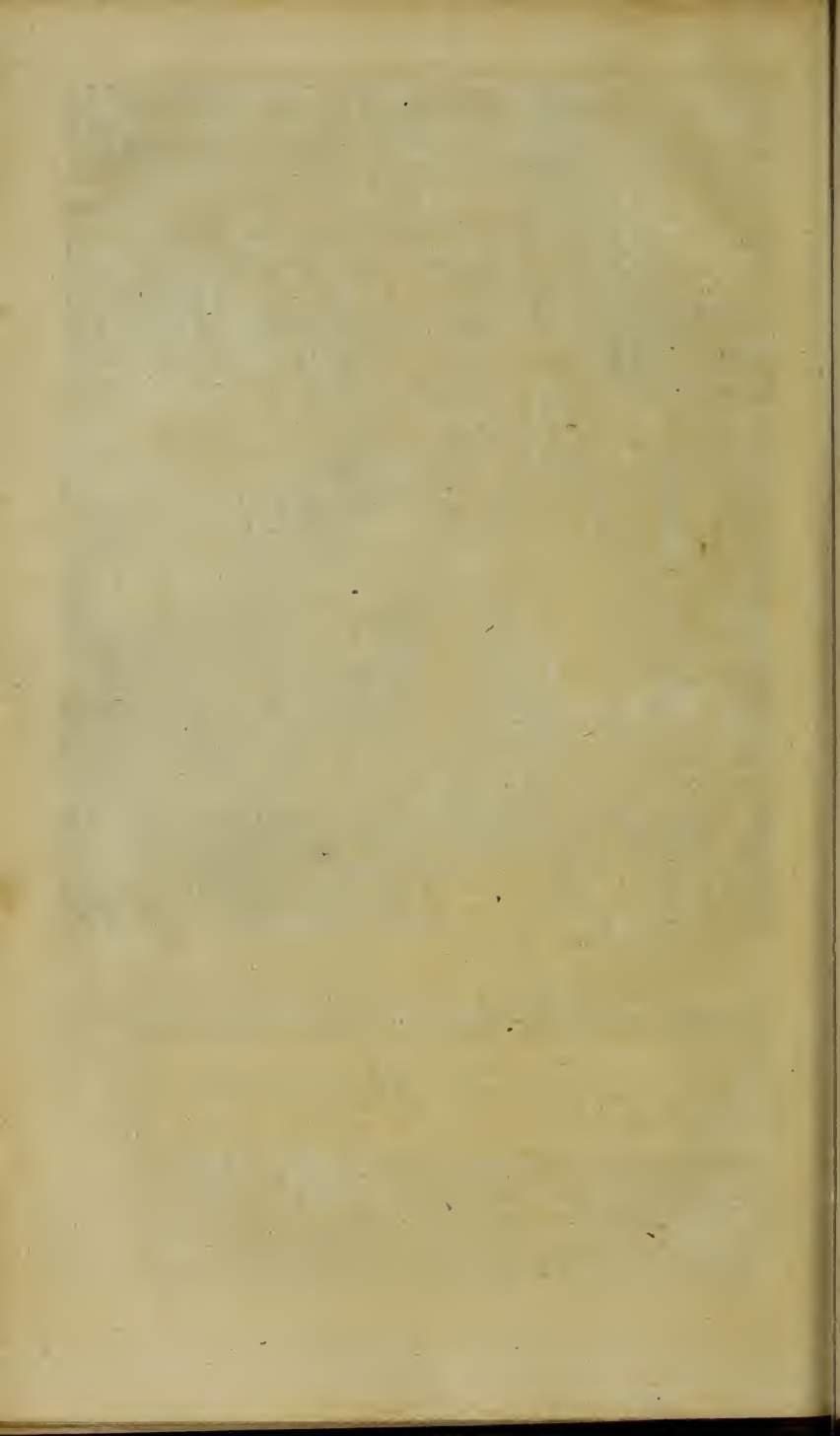


from an Original Painting.

J. H. F. scul.

Col. JOHN HEWSON.







Nor do some Writers scruple to allow,  
That *Hewson* was the Wretch who gave the Blow,  
Which crush'd the best of Monarchs and of Men,  
Too Just to Suffer, and too Good to Reign;  
But when Hypocrisy shall pass for Grace,  
And e'ery Rogue puts on a Saintlike Face,  
Well may the strictest Vertue fare the worst,  
And the most blameless Christian suffer first.

A. D.  
1649.



The

A. D.

1650.



The most

## Remarkable Transactions

Of the Second Year of the Reign of

King CHARLES the Second.

*Anno Dom. 1650.*

**M***ontrose* the Scot, who had such Wonders done,  
 In Forty Five, to serve the sinking Throne,  
 And had, pursuant to the King's Command,  
 Disbanded, and for safety left the Land,  
 Was with a new Commission now sent o'er,  
 By CHARLES the Second to his Native Shore,  
 Where, in the North, he'd Landed with some Troops  
 Of Dutch and Germans, tho' but few, in hopes  
 The hardy Highlanders would early join  
 His slender Force, and back his good Design;  
 But Great *Argyle*, i'th' absence of *Montrose*,  
 Had us'd so much Severity with those  
 Who'd acted for the King, that they were grown  
 More shy of vent'ring to assist the Throne;  
 And tho' some Thousands did come in to aid  
*Montrose*, they were so far dispirited,  
 That when they heard a Party was at hand,  
 Of Horse, some Reg'ments under *Straghan's* Command,  
 And \* *Lesley* with an Army in the Rear,  
 Approaching, they forsook *Montrose* in fear,

\* *David*

A. D.  
1650.

Who thereupon, for want of equal Force,  
Was routed with his Troops of Foreigners.  
Soon after taken in a Clown's Disguise,  
And made a much lamented Sacrifice\*,  
With many more brave Officers, who shar'd  
Their Leader's Fate, too barbarously hard:  
Among the rest an Officer of Note,  
One *Whitford* † was to Execution brought;  
Who said, they only took him off because  
He'd been the Death of Doctor *Doriflaus*,  
For joining with those Rogues who had destroy'd  
The best of Kings that *Scotland* e'er enjoy'd.  
Upon which words the Magistrates delay'd  
The Col'nel's Execution, till they'd made  
The State acquainted with the same, who gave  
Their Pardon, and preserv'd him from the Grave,  
Lest on themselves they should the Odium bring,  
Of fav'ring those who had destroy'd the King.  
Thus did the *Scots*, by giving Life, reward  
The bold Revenge of Loyal *Whitford's* Sword;  
As if the Death of *Doriflaus* had been  
An Act of humane Vertue, not a Sin;  
Yet so far the Reproach is surely theirs,  
They sold their Sov'reign to his Murderers,  
Altho' so much asham'd to share the Guilt  
Of Royal Blood, their Fellow-Rebels spilt.

*But in a false Arrest, pray who's most base,  
The Bailiff or the Setter that betrays.*

The discontented *Scots* b'ing now in Arms,  
And the Rump Rulers under great Alarms,  
*Cromwel*, unsent for, thought it time to come  
From *Ireland*, to promote his Ends at home,

\* May 2d.

† Colonel.

A.D. Accordingly arriv'd \*, tho' he had sent  
 1650. First Notice to his Lords the Parliament;  
 But for their Answer was too wise to stay,  
 For fear the House should his Return delay:  
 Who, when he came, was welcom'd by the Rump,  
 And publickly appear'd in mighty Pomp,  
 As being now their only Martial Friend,  
 On whom the Rump for safety could depend;  
 For Gen'ral *Fairfax*, who was known to be  
 A Cordial Zealot in Presbytery,  
 In *Cromwel's* Absence had so tutor'd been,  
 By the Industrious Ministers therein,  
 That Conscience would not give him leave to lead  
 An Army 'gainst the Kirk beyond the *Tweed*;  
 But, like a Pious Saint much rather chose  
 To throw up his Commission, than oppose  
 The *Scots*, tho' he'd the Grace to reconcile  
 Rebellion to his Conscience all the while,  
 And never scruple to commit the worst  
 Of Crimes, by which his Race could be accus'd.

*So Rogues who steal and murder for Relief,  
 Will scorn to rob or hurt a Brother Thief.*

Thus *Fairfax* had no sooner left the Host,  
 But *Cromwel* was advanc'd into his Post,  
 And of the *Irish* Forces had Command,  
 As well as those within his Native Land;  
 Which answer'd the Design he'd form'd before,  
 And was a suddain Step tow'rd's Sov'reign Pow'r.

*Thus Prosperous Villains fortunately rise  
 To Greatness, and obtain the wish'd for Prize,  
 By unseen Accidents that clear the Way,  
 And give them Pow'r to make their Slaves obey.*

---

\* June the 6th.



The King, e're this time, from the *Belgick* Coast, *A. D.*  
 Had safely to the North of *Scotland* crost; *1650.*  
 From whence he'd been conducted in great Pomp  
 To *Edenbrough*, which much allarm'd the Rump;  
 Tho' things, as yet, were not agreed between  
 The crafty *Scots* and their new Sovereign;  
 Who, tho' he yielded almost to enslave  
 The Throne, they still had something more to crave,  
 Till tir'd with fresh Demands he left the Town,  
 And Norward mov'd; but was no sooner gone,  
 E're they sent Messengers to humbly pray  
 The King to fav'r'em with a longer stay;  
 Which kind Request had he deny'd, they'd Horse  
 Sufficient to have brought him back by force:  
 So that, in truth, their Monarch was no more,  
 At present, than their Royal Prisoner.  
 However, they agreed, the King comply'd  
 With hard Conditions on the Royal Side,  
 Sharp as the Terms his Father had thought fit  
 To yield to, when restrain'd i'th' Isle of *Wight*;  
 For tho' the *Scots* had made it their Pretence  
 To raise an Army in the King's Defence,  
 Yet neither He, nor any Loyal Friend,  
 Was, in the same, to hold the least Command:  
 Nor were the *English* Servants he had brought,  
 Allow'd t'attend his Person, as they ought.  
 So that it seem'd as if the Ills they'd done  
 By th' Father, they intended to the Son;  
 And only meant, in short, to make the most  
 They could, between their Sov'reign and their Host.  
*As Misers serve the Needy in Distress,*  
*To make their Woes more great, instead of less,*  
*By preying on their blind Unhappiness.*

*Cromwel*, tho' *Fairfax* would not fight the Kirk  
 Of *Scotland*, gladly undertook the Work,

A.D. 1650. And with an Army march'd to *Berwick* Town,  
 Where he dispers'd his Declaration ;  
 In which he did most solemnly affirm,  
 That, tho' in Arms, he meant the *Scots* no harm,  
 Nor had he any Quarrel to decide  
 With them, but such Malignants as annoy'd  
 The Publick Peace, by aiming to restore  
 CHARLES STUART to the Crown and Kingly Pow'r ;  
 That therefore he was ready to receive,  
 By Conference, Satisfaction, or to give  
 The same therein ; or would in Battle try  
 Which Side did on the Justest Cause rely.  
 The Pious *Scots* reply'd, they did not mean  
 To prosecute the Int'rest of the King,  
 Till he had first acknowledg'd each Abuse  
 And sinful Error of his wicked House,  
 That Satisfaction, by the help of Heav'n,  
 Might to GOD's People of both Lands be given.  
 In this their Answer may be plainly seen,  
 The bad Condition that the King was in ;  
 And that they only meant to be his Friends,  
 So far as 'twas conducive to their Ends ;  
 And that, at last, his fatal Usage there,  
 Would have prov'd equal to his Father's here,  
 Had they proceeded smoothly, as they hop'd  
 They should ; but Providence their Progress stop'd,  
 And humbl'd them by Rebels, who their own  
 Base Treachery had rais'd above the Throne.  
 Cromwel no sooner had receiv'd their Cant,  
 In answer to his Declaration sent,  
 But he march'd on to *Edenborough* Town,  
 Thence to *Dunbar*, and rambl'd up and down,  
 In hopes to fight the *Scots*, but could not find  
 The Northern Army posted to his Mind ;  
 Who led him such a Dance, till he almost  
 Had starv'd, as well as tir'd his *English* Host ;

That

That having by this Means impair'd his Strength,  
And quite despairing of Success, at length  
Resolv'd, by Land or Sea, to steer his Course  
For *England*, with his hungry murm'ring Force.  
To this Condition had victorious *Noll*,  
Whose Conduct to this Day the Saints extol,  
Brought his whole Army, that in case the *Scots*  
Had not reliev'd him by their foolish Blots,  
His Laurels all had from his Brows been rent,  
And ended in his Shame and Punishment ;  
But Fortune, who'd been Nodding, timely rowz'd,  
And sav'd the darling Hero she'd espous'd ;  
For *Noll* retiring, whilst his Northern Foes,  
In Number much superior, follow'd close ;  
Till to a Ridge of Hills he came, which lay  
Near to *Dunbar*, inclining tow'rds the Sea,  
Where *Cromwel* aiming to secure a Pass \*  
Which the *Scots* car'd not that he should possess,  
Repuls'd the Party, who at first begun  
To shrink, but the Foot boldly coming on,  
With such couragious warmth maintain'd the Fight,  
Till the broad-sworded *Scots* were put to Flight.  
Thus in one Battle were they quite undone,  
Altho' in number two, at least, to one ;  
When if they had no Hazard run at all,  
Their not Engaging had been *Cromwel*'s Fall.

This Victory, however, prov'd of use  
To th' King, who'd none but Enemies to lose,  
And made the worsted *Scots* more humble grow,  
Who were so proud before their Overthrow.  
*Cromwel* to *Edenborough* march'd forthwith,  
Possess'd it, fortify'd the Town of *Leith*,

---

\* At the Village of Copperspeith.

A. D.  
1650.  
LW

AD. 1650. Took in all Castles and Strong-Holds of use,  
 That lay commodious 'twixt the *Firth* and us ;  
 Which ancient River was the Bounds between  
 The *English* Host without and *Scots* within;  
 Who now began to low'r their Pride apace,  
 And shew the King a new submissive Face,  
 Voted that Royalists should bear Command  
 Th' Army to be levy'd out of hand ;  
 Whilst Lucky *Cromwel* sent into the *West*  
 Of *Scotland*, a Detachment of his best  
 And most experienc'd Troops, to fall upon  
 Two famous *Presbyterians*, *Kerr* and *Straughan*,  
 Who then were levying Forces to secure  
 The Kirk, so much in dread of *Cromwel's* Pow'r.  
 During which time the *Scots* vouchsaf'd to Crown  
 The King, with great Humility, at *Schone* ;  
 Not thro' Obedience, or so much to please  
 Themselves, as to amuse their Enemies.

The Rump, to low'r the Presbyterian Pride,  
 Gave Liberty to all the Sects beside,  
 Levy'd a new small Army, and withal  
 Made *Harrison* their Major-General,  
 A Zealot who profess'd himself to be  
 A bold Assertor of Fifth Monarchy ;  
 Who with the other rigid Sects agreed  
 To raise three Regiments \*; for being freed  
 From Presbyterian Tyranny, whose Yoke  
 Did all the other Godlier Saints provoke.  
 Also the Rump, to shew their poor Revenge,  
 Pull'd the King's Statue down at the *Exchange*,  
 And in its place express'd their Malice thus,  
*Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus.*

---

\* Two of Horse and one of Foot.



A. D.  
1650.

Embassadors from *Portugal* and *Spain*,  
Came in to Compliment the Rump's new Reign,  
And, to the shame of those that sent 'em o'er,  
Basely acknowledg'd their Rebellious Pow'r.  
The rest of the ill time was spent this Year,  
In persecuting those that Loyal were,  
Sequestering the Estates of some, to raise  
Their own low Fortunes by unchristian ways,  
And executing others by their Laws,  
The better to support their wretched Cause.

*Well may the giddy Croud be led astray,  
To trample down those Kings they should obey,  
Since neighb'ring Princes, to their Scandal, own  
Such Rebels as usurp their Monarch's Throne.*

The End of the Second Year.

A. D.

1650.

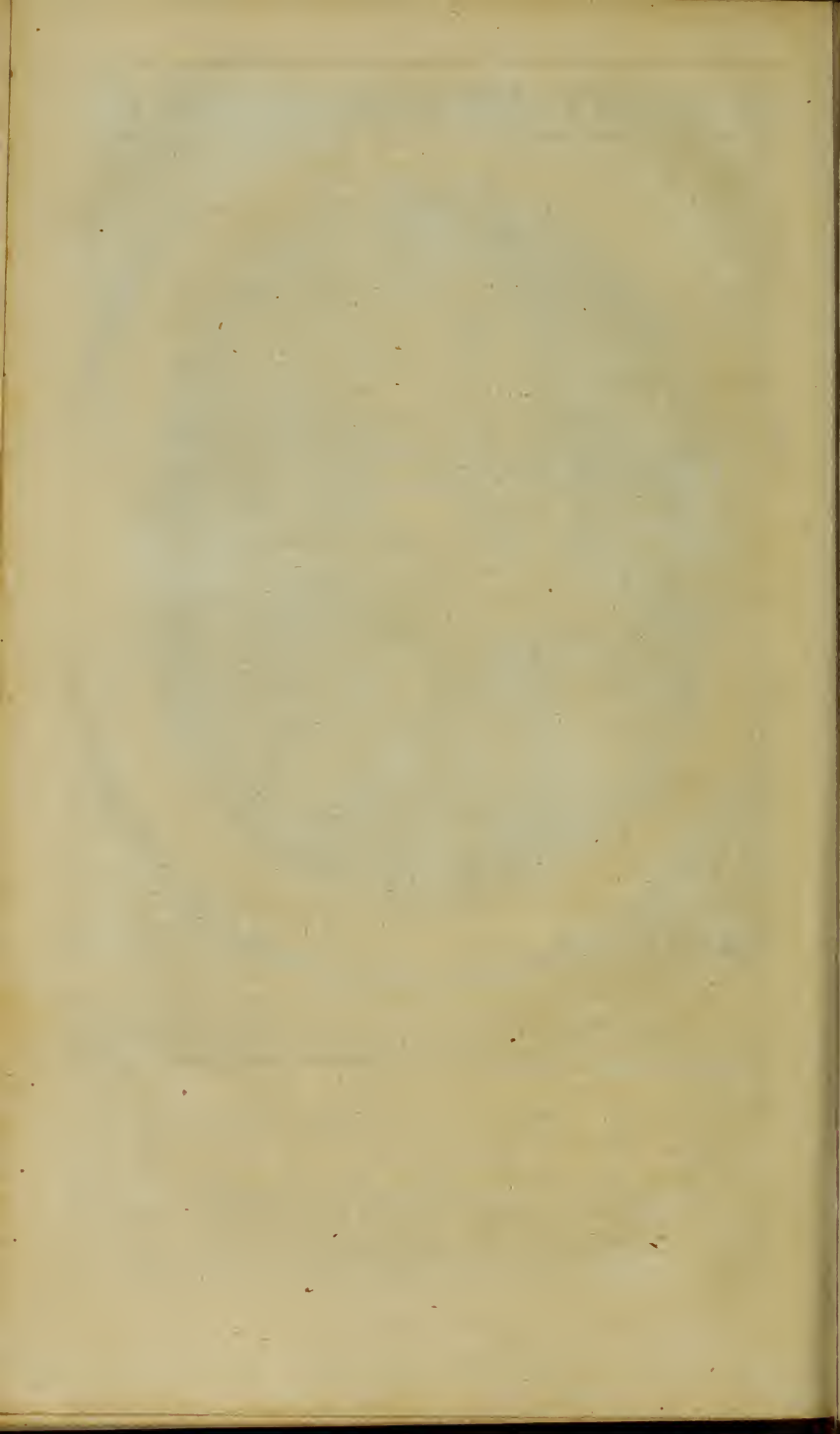
THE

# Marquis of MONTROSE'S CHARACTER:

BRed up in *France* to Arms, and there prefer'd  
 To be a Captain in the King's Life-Guard,  
 Was by Duke *Hamilton*, then great in Pow'r,  
 Invited to the Court of *England* o'er;  
 Where he, at first, was by the Jealous Throne,  
 In those bad Times but coolly look'd upon;  
 Which so disgust'd his Heroick Mind,  
 That he the Northern Covenanters join'd:  
 But when he found that their Designs were meant  
 To overturn the King and Government,  
 He to the Throne submissive Letters wrote,  
 And timely open'd their invidious Plot;  
 But these were from the Royal Pocket lost,  
 Or stol'n by some ill hand, as 'twas suppos'd,  
 And Copies sent to *Scotland*, that *Montrose*  
 At *Edenburgh* was shut in Prison close,  
 Where he lay long confin'd e'er he obtain'd  
 His Liberty; which he no sooner gain'd,  
 But he took Post for *England*, and apply'd  
 Toth' Queen, who did at *Bridlington* reside,  
 And laid before Her Majesty the State  
 Of *Scotland*, and the Means to obviate  
 Their ill Designs, but he was overthrown  
 In all his good Advice, by *Hamilton*.

How-







A.D.  
1650.  
W

However, with a small but gallant Force,  
 At most but Fourteen-hundred Foot and Horse,  
 He enter'd *Scotland*, took in sev'ral Towns,  
 And gave Relief to divers Garisons,  
 Lodging his Men therein, then travell'd round  
 The Land in private, by which means he found  
 The Strength of e'ery Place, and how the Mind  
 Of e'ery Clan stood well or ill inclin'd.  
 At length he form'd a little active Train  
 Of *Irish*, and his Friends the *Athol* Men;  
 With which small handful he the *Scots* amaz'd,  
 And made 'em fly before him as he pleas'd:  
 Did such true Fortitude and Conduct show,  
 That both the Kingdoms justly may allow,  
 No braver Worthy ever drew his Sword  
 In Battle, to support his Sov'reign Lord:  
 None with less Force could raise a greater Storm,  
 Or mightier Wonders in the Field perform,  
 Needing no safer Armour for his Breast,  
 Than the Heroick Vertues he possess'd;  
 Fearless of Danger when it seem'd most great,  
 As if he slighted Life and courted Fate;  
 Or that he fought to merit Heav'ns applause,  
 By dying bravely in so just a Cause;  
 For none could in the Face of Death defy  
 Superior Strength with nobler Gallantry;  
 As if he thought 'twas Cowardice to beat  
 A Foe whose Forces were not twice as great;  
 Yet when he long had triumph'd in Success,  
 And chas'd the Rebel *Scots* from place to place,  
 Capricious *Fortune*, in her Freaks, to show  
 The strange vicissitude of things below,  
 Suffer'd the Hero, who had over-run  
 Half *Scotland*, to be foil'd and overthrown  
 By *David Lesley*, making his Retreat  
 Into the Highlands, after his Defeat;

A.D. 1650. Where he, in time, repair'd his shatter'd Pow'r,  
 And grew almost as prosp'rous as before :  
 But the King flying to the *Scottish* Host,  
 In hopes of Safety when his All was lost,  
 Did, by their Instigation, send Command  
 To his best Friend, the Marquis, to disband ;  
 Who did his Troops accordingly dismiss,  
 And, much concern'd, withdrew beyond the Seas.  
 After the best of Kings had felt the stroke  
 Of Fate, and with his Purple dy'd the Block,  
 Return'd to *Scotland* with a slender Guard  
 Of *Hamburg* Troops, and for the Son declar'd ;  
 But failing of Success, for want of Force,  
 Was quickly routed with his Foreign Horse ;  
 Soon after taken, infamously us'd,  
 Carted, expos'd, and by the Croud abus'd :  
 All which he bore with such a comely Grace,  
 As if no Wrongs could change his Mind or Face ;  
 Was in the common Jayl a Pris'ner made,  
 From thence in Triumph to their Senate led,  
 And there reproach'd, to their eternal Shame,  
 By those who oft had trembl'd at his Name :  
 Then by their Guides in Prison terrify'd,  
 Not to assist his Soul, but shew their Pride ;  
 Thence, in the most indecent manner, drawn  
 To the vile Place of Execution,  
 Where a tall Gallows, thirty Foot in height,  
 Was proudly rear'd to manifest their spite.  
 Where the bold Marquis told his Foes, that stood  
 Around the Place to triumph in his Blood,  
*That he was prouder far to think his Head,*  
*Where they design'd, should stand aloft when dead,*  
*Than that his Picture, by the King's good Grace,*  
*Should in his Royal Chamber find a place ;*  
*And that it was so little his Concern,*  
*To think his Quarters should their Gates adorn,*

*That*

*That he could wish he'd Flesh enough, that some  
Might hang in e'ery Town in Christendom,  
That when his Soul was fled, his Limbs might be  
Display'd as Ensigns of his Loyalty.*

A.D.

1650.

~

Thus when Brave Spirits fall within the Pow'r  
Of those that trembl'd at their Names before,  
The cruel Wrongs intended to their Shame,  
Instead of less'ning, thro' the World proclaim  
Their Vertues and Immortalize their Name.

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THE

A.D.

1650.



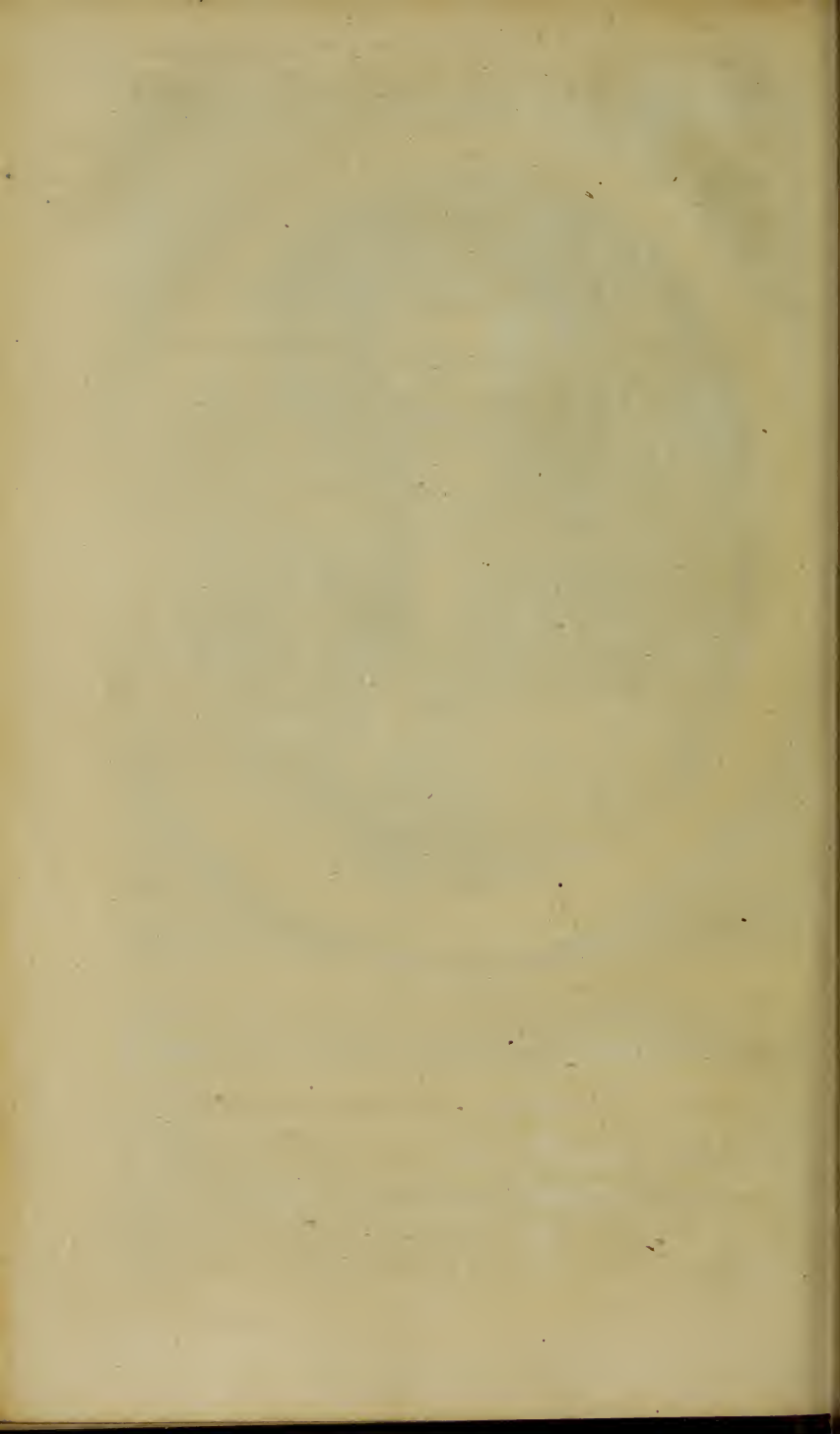
THE  
CHARACTER  
OF  
DAVID LESLEY,

*Who succeeded the Lord Leven in the Command  
of the Scotch Army.*

A Good Horse Officer, but scarce could boast  
Sufficient Conduct for the highest Post;  
Yet had he been successful in the Fall  
Of Brave *Montrose*, a greater General;  
Whose Foreign Troops by Numbers he o'erpow'rd,  
And made that Earl the Captive of his Sword.  
But when the *Scots* did for the King declare,  
And with the *English* Parliament made War,  
*Lesley*, who in that Service was employ'd,  
Was left by *Fortune* when he chang'd his Side,  
And did at *Worc'ster* Battle basely lose  
The Laurels he had won against *Montrose*;  
And from the Field, with Troops unbroken, fled,  
Whilst Loyal Thousands in the Contest bled;  
Himself being taken Pris'ner in his Flight  
Tow'rds *Scotland*, after the unhappy Fight;  
Whilst prosp'rous *Cromwel* triumph'd in Success,  
And forc'd the King to find a hiding-place;  
Many suspecting *Lesley* had betray'd  
His Trust, and that the faulty Steps he'd made  
Were







Were wilful ; but the Hardships he endur'd  
In the long Season that he dwelt immur'd,  
Rescu'd his Reputation from so base  
A Calumny, and wip'd off the Disgrace.

A.D.

1650.

~ ~ ~

*This Fortune, whose uncertain Smiles we court,  
Oft favours Fools, and makes the Brave her Sport.  
Who then to Day's Success would proudly boast,  
Since all, the next Adventure, may be lost.*

---

The

---

A. D.

1651.



The most

## Remarkable Transactions

Of the Third Year of the Reign of

King CHARLES the Second,

*Anno Dom. 1651.*

THE Parliament of *Scotland*\* now thought fit  
 To make some certain Acts that might unite  
 Themselves the better, and injoin a more  
 Sufficient Duty to the Sov'reign Pow'r,  
 Which the misguided Loons had long been taught,  
 By their Rebellicious Guides, to violate.  
 The King, with the *Scotch* Host at *Sterling* lay,  
 Expecting Reinforcements e'ery Day ;  
 Which then were levy'd, that his Arms might be  
 Superior to his Neighbouring Enemy,  
 Who sev'ral times from *Edenborough-Town*,  
 Led forth his Rebels to oppose the Crown ;  
 But a deep River lying 'twixt the Foes,  
 Which *Cromwel* could not ford, prevented Blows :  
 Nor could he, without too much Hazard, force  
 The Passes, guarded by the *Northern* Horse ;  
 But was oblig'd to wait, till Boats were sent  
 From *London*, and *Newcastle*, with Intent  
 To Waft his Forces o'er, in hopes they might  
 Oblige the King, and his *Scotch* Troops to Fight.

\* Assembled April 11.



No sooner were the Boats in order brought,  
 But \* *Overton* pass'd over with his Foot,  
 Four able Troops, who'd oft their Valour shown,  
 And a Foot Regiment besides his own,  
 Who soon were strengthen'd with as many more,  
 Which Major-Gen'ral *Lambert* carry'd o'er,  
 That near Six-thousand did the River pass,  
 And unoppos'd secur'd a Landing-place.  
 At length a Party of the *Scots* came on,  
 Commanded by the treach'rous Sir *John Brown*,  
 In order to engage 'em and oppose  
 The further Passage of their *English* Foes ;  
 But *Overton* and *Lambert*, in the Fight,  
 Prov'd much too hard for the deceitful Knight,  
 Who not b'ing hearty in the Cause, betray'd  
 His Forces, as by *Clarendon* 'tis said,  
 That on the spot 'Two-thousand *Scots* were slain,  
 And Sixteen-hundred in the Battle ta'en.  
 Which being done, successful *Cromwel* pass'd  
 The *Frith*, and march'd with all convenient Haste,  
 Before St. *Johnston*, to invade the Town,  
 E're the *Scotch* Parliament from thence were flown,  
 But hearing of the Slaughter he had made,  
 They all for Safety to *Dundee* were fled.  
 During which time, the King had steer'd his Course  
 From *Sterling*, with his small remaining Force,  
 Tow'rd *England*, which surprizing News was brought  
 To *Cromwel*'s Ear, who, tho' he lik'd it not,  
 Resolv'd to take the Town, e'er he would stir,  
 Altho' the King was three Days March before||.  
 Accordingly, next Day, he took the Place,  
 Then gave the King and his *Scotch* Army chase,

A. D.  
 1651.

W

\* Colonel of Foot.

† Consisting of 4500.

|| The King began his March from *Sterling*, the last of July.

Who

A. D. Who reach'd the Town of *Worc'ster* \* e're the Foe  
1651. Could overtake them, as they hop'd to do:

~ The *English* Rebels joining as they went,  
With fresh Recruits to their Assistance sent,  
Till *Cromwel's* Army did, at least, contain,  
In number, Forty-thousand able Men ;  
Whilst the much Weaker and Unskilful Host†  
Of *Scotland*, made not half that Strength at most ;  
So that, for want of Judgment, or of Care  
In raising up such Works as needful were,  
The King was soon defeated, and compell'd  
To quit the Town, as well as fly the Field‡ ;  
Most of the *Scots* b'ing Kill'd, or Pris'ners made,  
Except some Horse, who back tow'rds *Scotland* fled,  
With *David Lesley* Gen'ral, who was thought  
To manage less sincerely than he ought,  
Tho' he himself was taken by the Way,  
And under a long harsh Confinement lay,  
Whilst many Peers of both the Nations shar'd  
The like Misfortune, and as hardly far'd.

The King, for present Safety, took his Flight  
From *Worc'ster* into *Warwick-shire* by Night,  
Drop'd *Lesley* and his Troops upon the Road,  
And crept, when Light, into a neighb'ring Wood,  
Commanding two, wh'attended, to retire,  
After they'd crop'd his Hair to his desire,  
Trusting himself alone, in this Disguise,  
To Heav'n, who sav'd him from his Enemies,  
By sending him one *Careless* || for his Guide,  
On whose Advice and Conduct he rely'd ;

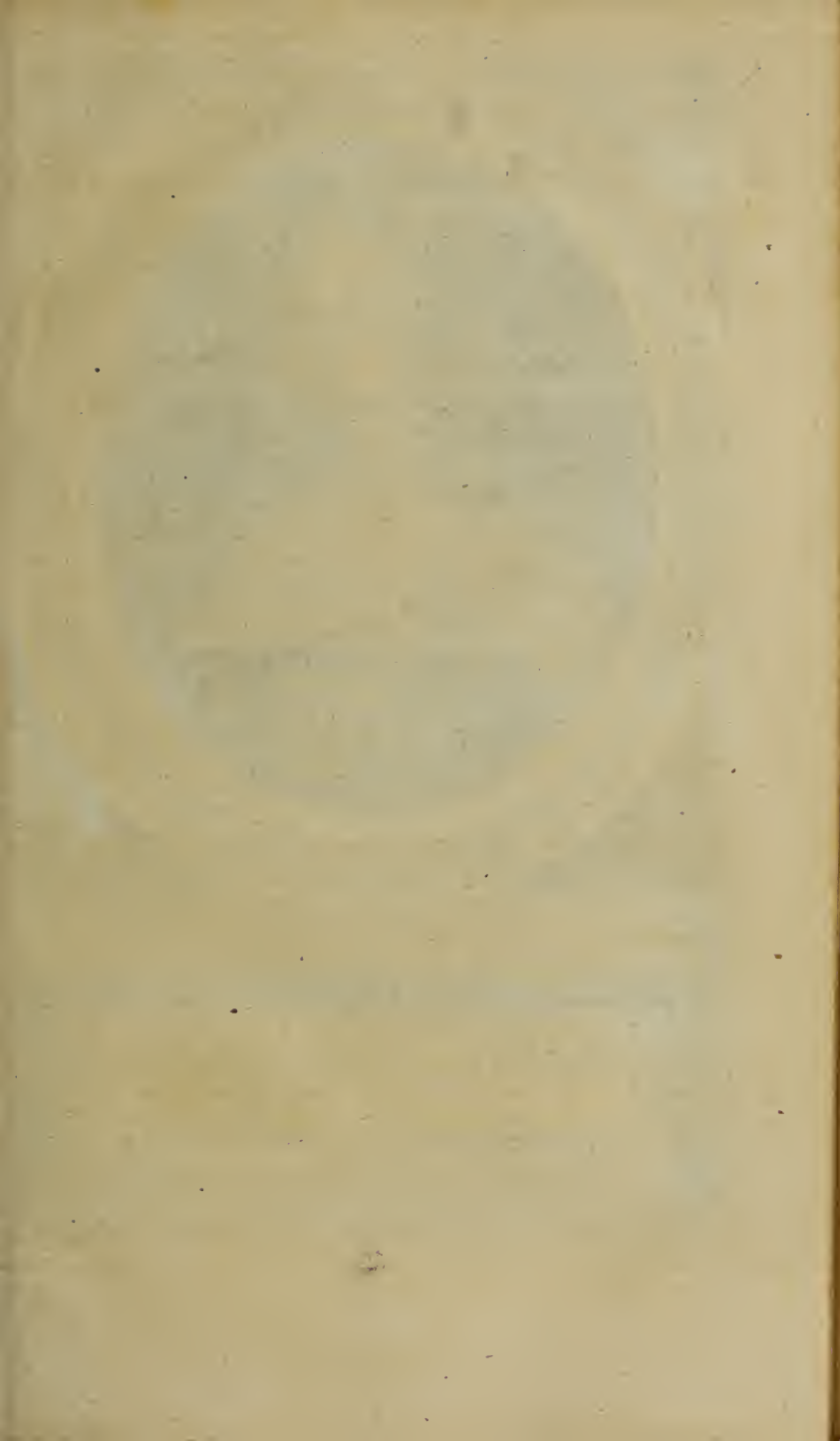
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\* August 22.

† About 13000.

‡ September the 3d.

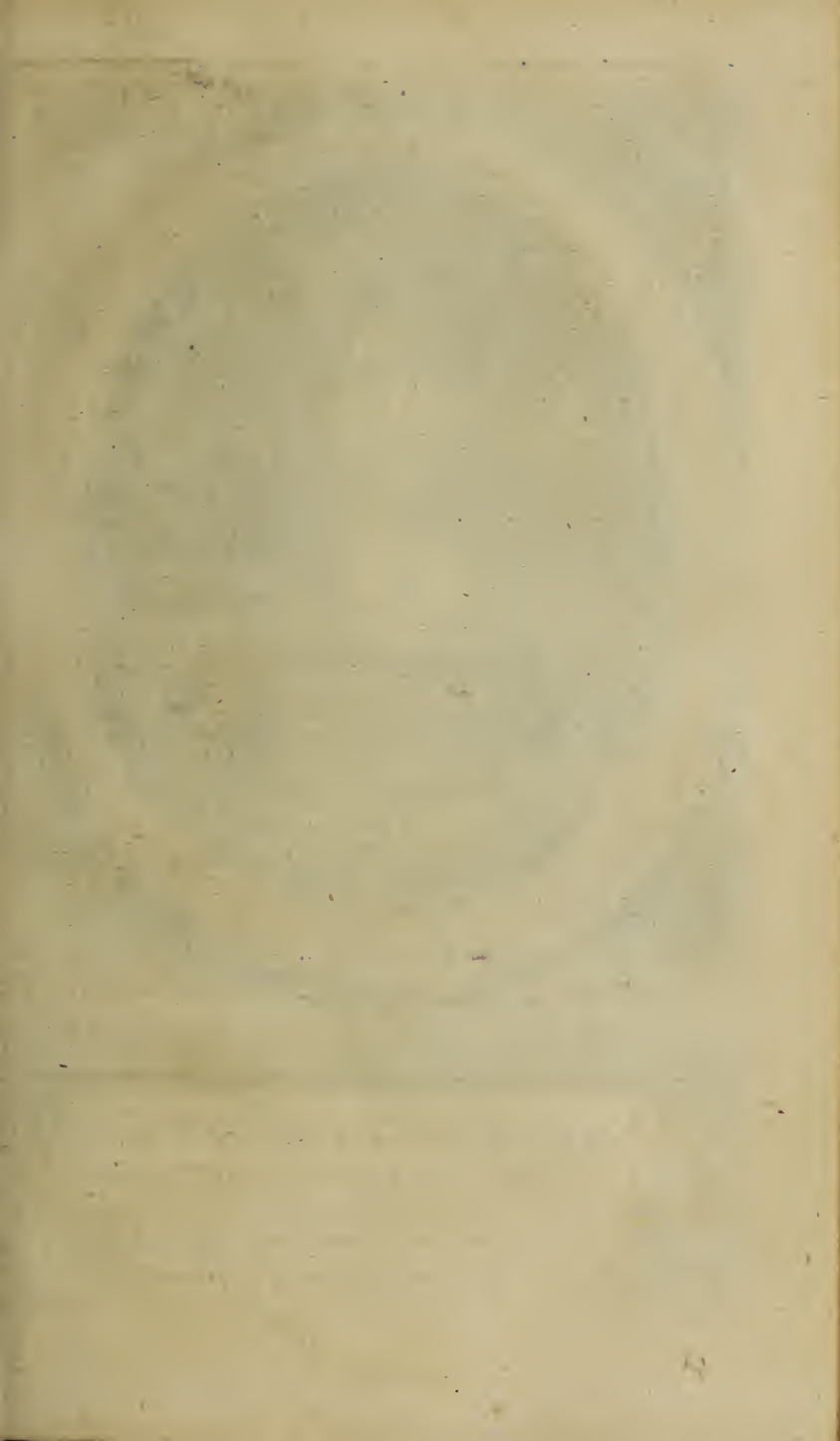
|| A Roman Catholick Captatn.





M<sup>rs</sup> Jane Lane.







*CHARLES the II. Proclaim'd King  
of G<sup>t</sup> BRITAIN & at Worcester Aug.  
3, 1651. made his escape in Boscobell  
Wood & afterwards by riding as a Serv.  
before M<sup>r</sup> Lane thro' several Counties, &c*

A. D.  
1651.

Till after many Risques and Dangers run,  
And sundry piercing Hardships undergone,  
He was, at length, from place to place convey'd,  
By trusty Loyal Friends, to *Brightemstead* \*,  
Where he embark'd for *Normandy* in France,  
And so obtain'd a safe deliverance.

*Thus are unhappy Princes forc'd to fly  
The Rage of those who do their Rights enjoy,  
And shew themselves, whilst they have Pow'r to steer  
The Helm, worse Tyrants than they seem to fear.*

Whilst thus the Royal Cause so low was sunk  
By *Cromwel*, his Lieutenant-Gen'ral *Monk*,  
To awe the Northern Land, was left among  
The *Scots*, with Forces Seven-thousand strong,  
Taking the Towns of *Sterling* † and *Dundee* ||,  
Storming the latter with much Cruelty ;  
Whither the *Scots* had taken Care to send  
Their richest Goods, in hopes they should defend  
The Town, which they'd well fortify'd, in case  
The *English* Rebels should invade the Place ;  
But their Resistance made them fare the worse,  
For all was plunder'd by the conq'ring Force ;  
*Monk* pushing forward the successful Scene,  
Till he possess'd the Town of *Aberdeen*,  
And took *St. Andrews* Presbyterian School,  
Where the *Scotch* Guides first learn to play the Fool.  
At the same time a Knot of Lords were made  
Pris'ners to th' Rump by Col'nel *Alured*,  
With many Highland Gentry, whom he sent  
To *England*, to oblige the Parliament,  
That there remain'd no danger to be fear'd  
From *Scotland*, where no rising Storm appear'd.

\* A Town in Suffex.

† August 14.

‡ September 3.



A.D. 1651. The trouble of the Rump being now alone  
To manage what they took to be their own :

At last upon a Union did agree,  
In which the *Irish* and the *Scots* should be,  
With *England*, made Incorporate as one  
Republick, which was yet but ill begun.  
To further this their politick Intent,  
*St. Johns* and *Vane* were into *Scotland* sent,  
With other Rump Commissioners, to make  
An offer of their Scheme for Friendship's sake,  
Warning them all to send from Town and Shire,  
Their Representatives to *Westminster* :  
But this, altho' a Favour, was deny'd,  
And by their Teachers e'ery where forbid ;  
Altho' they levy'd Sums amidst their Fears,  
To pay the *English* Army their Arrears ;  
Which cannot but by all Men be allow'd,  
To be the greatest Mark of Servitude :  
For who can boast that they are free from Force,  
Who are oblig'd to pay their Conquerors ;  
Yet all their Presbyterian Guides declar'd  
Against the Union by the Rump prepar'd ;  
Because they said, that to the Civil State,  
It made the things of CHRIST subordinate.  
*Whence we may see that each Calvinian Priest  
Sets himself up to be a Pope at least.*

However, tho' the *Scots* thus fullen prov'd,  
The Rump proceeded as it best behov'd  
Their Wisdoms, and by Act of Parliament,  
Confirm'd the Union 'thout the *Scots* Consent,  
Therein abolishing all Kingly Pow'r  
In *Scotland*, as they'd done at Home before ;  
Ordaining heavy Punishments for those  
That should presume to violate their Laws.

They



A.D.  
1651.  
w

They also sent two Agents\* to the *Hague*,  
To offer to the *Hollanders* a League;  
Who, tho' they'd plaid the like *Rebellious Game*,  
Had too much Honour to accept the same,  
Suff'ring the Croud to gather at their Doors,  
And treat 'em as *Rebellious Murderers*.  
But *St. Johns* told 'em, when he took his leave,  
That tho' he found they car'd not to receive  
The *Friendship* offer'd till the *Scotch* Affair  
Was settl'd, which would soon be brought to bear,  
Then would they be perplex'd that they'd withstood  
So fair a League intended for their good.  
Which words were so prophetick to the *Dutch*,  
That they soon after found to their Reproach,  
The Rump prohibited all Goods but what  
From *Holland* were on *English* Bottoms brought,  
And were so interrupted that they lost  
Most of their Fish'ry on the *English* Coast,  
That their *Embassadors* were now sent o'er,  
To ask the Favour they'd refus'd before:  
Also t'observe how th' People were content  
With their new Lords and Form of Government;  
And to inform themselves, by secret Ways,  
What Naval Forces were in readiness.

But now the Rump appear'd so stiff and proud,  
Their hard Conditions could not be allow'd,  
Insisting that their Neighbours should agree  
To pay for Fishing in the *British* Sea;  
And that the *English* should have open Trade,  
From *Middleburgh* to *Antwerp*, as they had  
Before the *Dutch*, their Liberty to gain,  
Revolted from the Monarchy of *Spain*:  
Demanding also that amends should be  
Return'd for their *Amboyna* Cruelty.

\* *St. Johns and Strickland.*

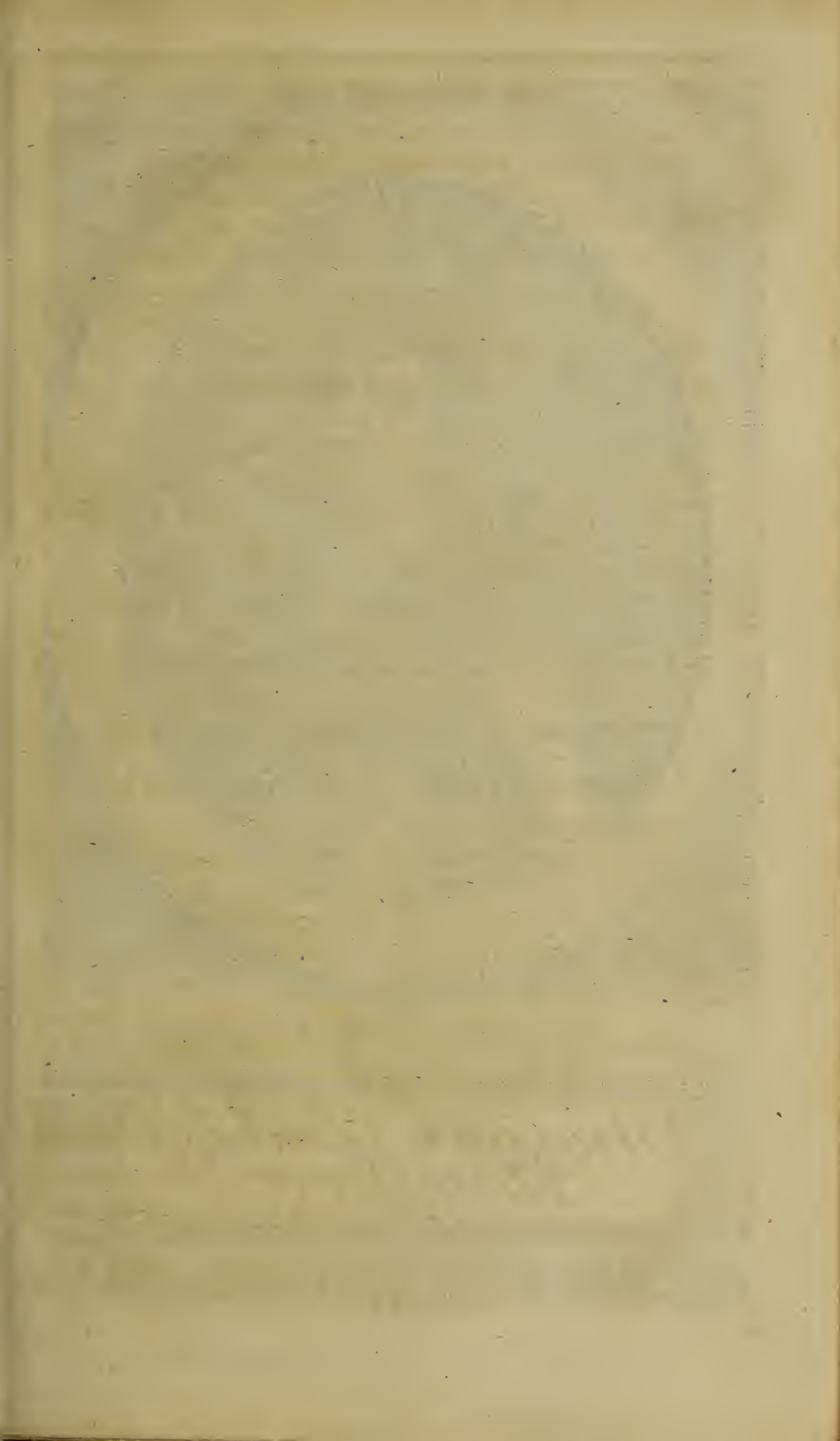
4 D. Which Terms, so unexpected and severe,  
 1651. Could be attended with no less than War;  
 But the cold Season of the Year, as yet,  
 Would not of Action, till the Spring, admit.  
 Whilst these new Heats in agitation were,  
*Ireland* and *Scotland* were the Rump's chief Care,  
 Which were not yet so totally subdu'd,  
 As to remain in Peace and Quietude.

The Persecution of the Loyal Side,  
 Was still carr'd on with Cruelty and Pride:  
 Among the rest, whose Lives they would not spare,  
 One *Love*, a Presbyterian Minister,  
 Who with the King had Correspondence held,  
 Was sentenc'd to the Axe, and forc'd to yield  
 His Life to their base sanguinary Laws,  
 For proving treach'rous to the *Good Old Cause*,  
 Rather than for the Service he had done  
 The King, or his affection for the Throne.

This Year the Rump did of the Roy'lists gain  
 The fruitful Isles of *Soilly* and of *Man*;  
 And to Obedience brought those distant Shores,  
*Barbadoes* Island, and *St. Christophers*.  
 But that which to their Glory added Grief,  
*Cromwel*, who was Commander now in Chief,  
 Gave the Rump warning, to agree upon  
 A time when their long sitting should be done;  
 Boldly requiring that the Day should fall  
 In compass of the Bill Triennial:  
 Which made the Traytors now begin to fear  
 Their Reign would scarce survive the foll'wing Year.

*When Pow'r is on a wrong Foundation built,  
 And Men support their Greatness by their Guilt,  
 The prosp'rous Villain, who by Force can rise,  
 Has always the best Right to Tyrannize.*

The End of the Third Year.







*from an orig. Painting*

*M. F. Gault. scul.*

*WILLIAM Duke of  
Hamilton,  
&c*



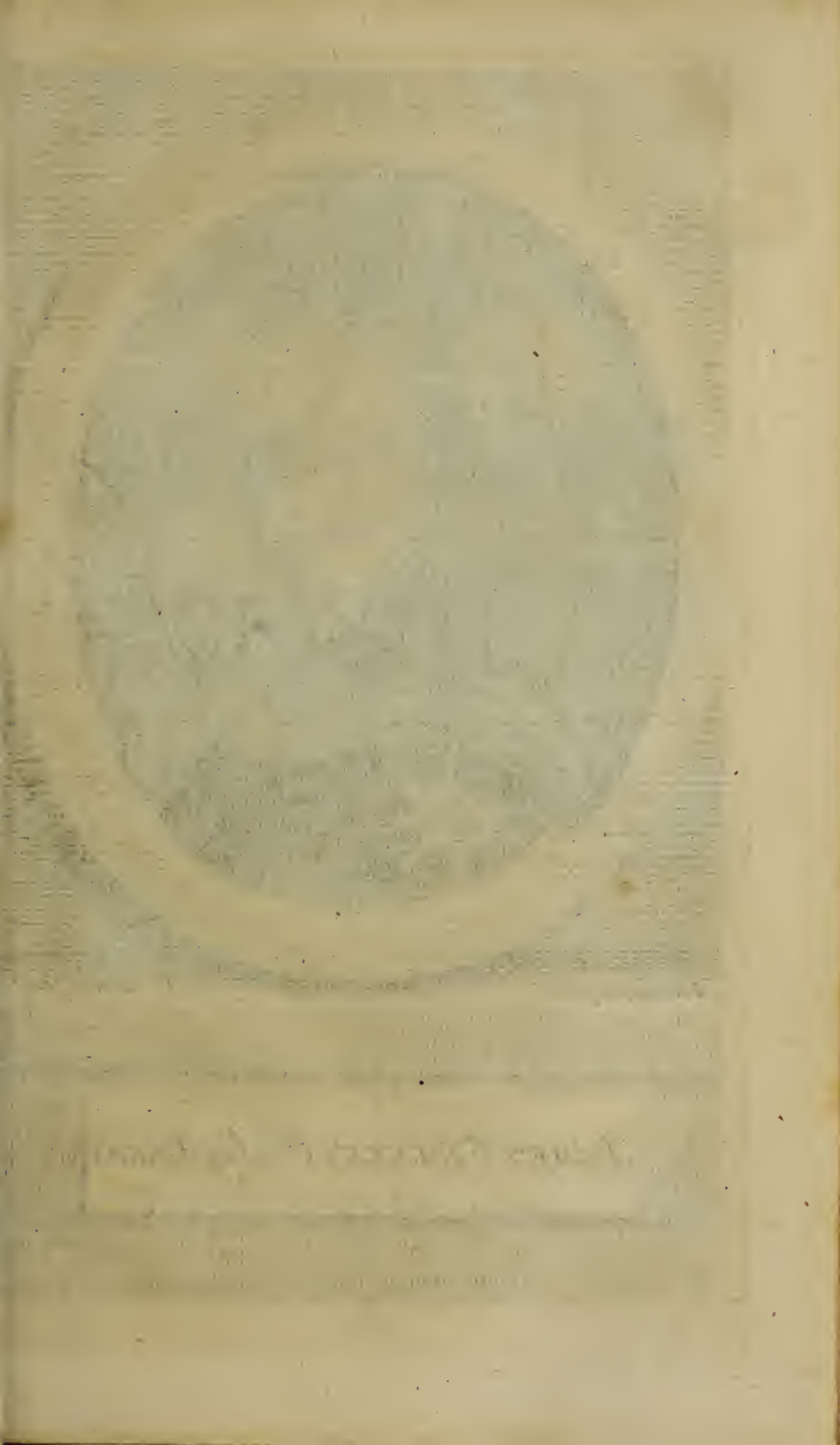
A.D.  
1651.THE  
CHARACTER  
OFDuke *HAMILTON*,

Brother of the former.

A Noble *Scot*, much honour'd for his Parts,  
Free from all Flatt'ry and deceitful Arts;  
Excel'd his Brother greatly, and abhor'd  
That Cunning practis'd by the former Lord;  
Yet into Errors had he been misled,  
Tho' was not in the wrong so riverted,  
But he repented and forsook those ways  
His Judgment told him were unjust and base.  
And when the Royal Martyr, much too good  
To Rule a wicked Land, had spilt his Blood,  
Did firmly to the banish'd Son adhere,  
As all his future Actions made appear;  
Assisted in the solemn Pomp at *Schone*,  
When the young King receiv'd the *Scottish* Crown;  
No penitential Worthy looking back  
With more abhorrence on each past Mistake,  
Or could be truly readier to atone  
For the least Inj'ry he had done the Throne:  
To *Worc'ster* City did the King attend,  
And there, to shew how far he was his Friend,

A.D. His Fortune in the heat of Battle try'd,  
1651. Till wounded in the Leg, of which he dy'd  
w A Pris'ner, and escap'd his Brother's Fate,  
Which, had he liv'd, he must have surely met :  
Declaring to the Rebels that he found  
Content amidst the tortures of his wound ;  
And that he thought it hon'able to lose  
His Life, by fighting in so just a Cause.

*Thus the Brave Man, who falls in the defence  
Of Truth, finds Comfort in his Innocence,  
Which arms his Breast against the Stings of Death,  
And sweetens the last Moments of his Breath.*





*A. Kneller pinx.*

*M. J. Gucht scul.*

JAMES STANLEY, Earl of DERBY



A.D.  
1651.

THE

*Earl of DERBY'S*

## CHARACTER.

NO Loyal Peer, of all the Noble Train,  
Could with more Zeal assist his Sovereign,  
Or in his Royal Master's Suff'rings bear  
A Larger, or a more Unspotted Share :  
Nor was he bound by Favours from the Throne,  
But by true Christian Duty steer'd alone.  
In Person did in Forty Two attend  
The King, and, like a brave and gen'rous Friend,  
Brought Forty-thousand Pounds, Five-thousand Arms  
To aid him when surrounded with Alarms;  
Headed Four-thousand Men against the Town  
Of *Manchester*, which held against the Crown;  
Then fortify'd his Seat call'd *Latham-House*,  
And left it to his Fair Heroick Spouse,  
Who kept the same, in Duty to her Liege,  
Against a thirteen and a twelve Weeks Siege ;  
Whilst her kind Lord did full as Brave appear,  
In *Cheshire*, *Yorkshire*, and in *Lancashire* ;  
And rally'd in the Fight at *Marston-Moor*,  
His Troops three times e'er the Dispute was o'er ;  
From thence escap'd into the Isle of *Man*,  
Where he took care to faithfully retain  
His Loyal Vertues, when the Royal Side  
Were greatly humbled by Rebellious Pride ;

A. D. 1651. Yet he took care to constantly maintain  
 A Correspondence with his Sovereign,  
 By the good Management of that polite  
 Ingenious Worthy *Berkenhead* the Knight;  
 Succour'd all Roy'lists by Misfortunes thrown  
 Into that Island, where he wore a Crown,  
 That he had always a defensive Force,  
 Made up of trusty Loyal Sufferers:  
 Did sev'ral Vessels of the Rebels seize,  
 Laden with useful rich Commodities;  
 And tho' the Rump had wholly won the Day,  
 Did them what Mischief in his Power lay.

When *Charles the Good* was Martyr'd, and his Son  
 Return'd, in hopes he should obtain his Throne,  
 The watchful Earl soon met him with a Train  
 Of near Two-thousand gallant Gentlemen;  
 The major Part to *Worc'ster* did attend  
 The King, and with the Royal Army join'd;  
 Whilst he himself remain'd in *Lancashire*,  
 With sev'ral Troops, to raise the People there;  
 But in the Town of *Wigan* was surpris'd  
 By *Lilbourn*, e're the Gentry were advis'd  
 Of the Earl's Presence, that before his Horse  
 Were join'd by any of the Country Force,  
 After a brave Resistance they were Shot,  
 And cut to Pièces on the fatal Spot;  
 The Earl sustaining, as some Authors write,  
 Sev'n Shot upon his Breastplate, in the Fight:  
 His Arms and Shoulders maim'd with wound by wound  
 And thirteen Hacks were on his Beaver found;  
 Two Horses und'r'im shot before he stir'd,  
 Who then escap'd, by mounting of a third,  
 Toth' King at *Worc'ster*, where the Earl declar'd:  
 How ill his Friends in *Wigan-Lane* had far'd;

Which

Which fill'd the Royal Breast with Discontent,  
 And gave the Army great discouragement,  
 Who lay expecting that the Earl would bring,  
 From *Lancashire*, great Succours to the King,  
 Whereby they might be able to restore  
 Their injur'd Master to the Sov'reign Pow'r;  
 Instead of which, aspiring *Noll* came down,  
 And drew his Rebel-Host before the Town,  
 Fell on so boldly that he dispossest  
 The King, and forc'd the Earl, among the rest,  
 To fly; but he, alas! like many more,  
 Was seiz'd, e're he could make himself secure;  
 Soon after try'd, by a Commission sent  
 To Country Scoundrels from the Parliament,  
 Condemn'd to lose his Head within the Town  
 Of *Bolton*, which was properly his own;  
 But by revolting from their Loyalty,  
 Had made the Earl so far their Enemy,  
 That by his Provocations they were grown  
 As bitter Foes to him as to the Throne;  
 That Town was therefore chosen, that their Eyes  
 Might feast upon the pleasing Sacrifice,  
 And interrupt that quietude of Mind,  
 Which e'ery dying Christian hopes to find.  
 A villainous Barbarity! so great  
 That *Turks* or *Jews* would scorn to imitate.  
 Nor were the cruel Rump alone content  
 To crush the Earl, by publick Punishment,  
 But to his Countess\* did extend their hate,  
 And brought her to a low penurious State.

*So impious Rogues, who Blood and Theft pursue,  
 More barb'rous grow by ev'ry Ill they do,  
 Till from all sence of humane Mercy freed,  
 At last to needleß Cruelties proceed.*

\* Daughter of the Duke de Tremouille, one of the greatest Families in France.

A.D.  
 1651.  




A.D.  
1651.

THE  
CHARACTER  
OF  
Mr. LOVE.

A Painful Stretcher of the Holy Word,  
To propagate Rebellion and the Sword,  
Ordain'd a Teacher of that restless Clan  
Of *Calvinists*, call'd *Presbyterian*;  
And as a chosen Oracle was sent  
To *Uxbridge*, when the King and Parliament  
Had order'd their Commissioners to meet,  
And, free of all Hostility, to treat  
Of Peace, and try if they could reconcile  
Those open Discords that inflam'd the Isle:  
But *Love*, a Person then but green in Years,  
Brought thither by the Rump's Commissioners,  
Assum'd the Pulpit on a Market-day,  
And in the Church did openly inveigh  
Against the Peers and Gentlemen imploy'd  
To there negotiate on the Royal Side,  
Affirming to the list'ning rural Croud,  
They came with Hearts from *Oxford* full of Blood,  
And that there was, at least, as wide a space  
Between the present Treaty and a Peace,  
As between Heav'n and Hell, and that they meant  
Only t'amuse the People, with intent  
To gain some great Advantage in their view,  
Whereby they might, at once, the Land subdue,

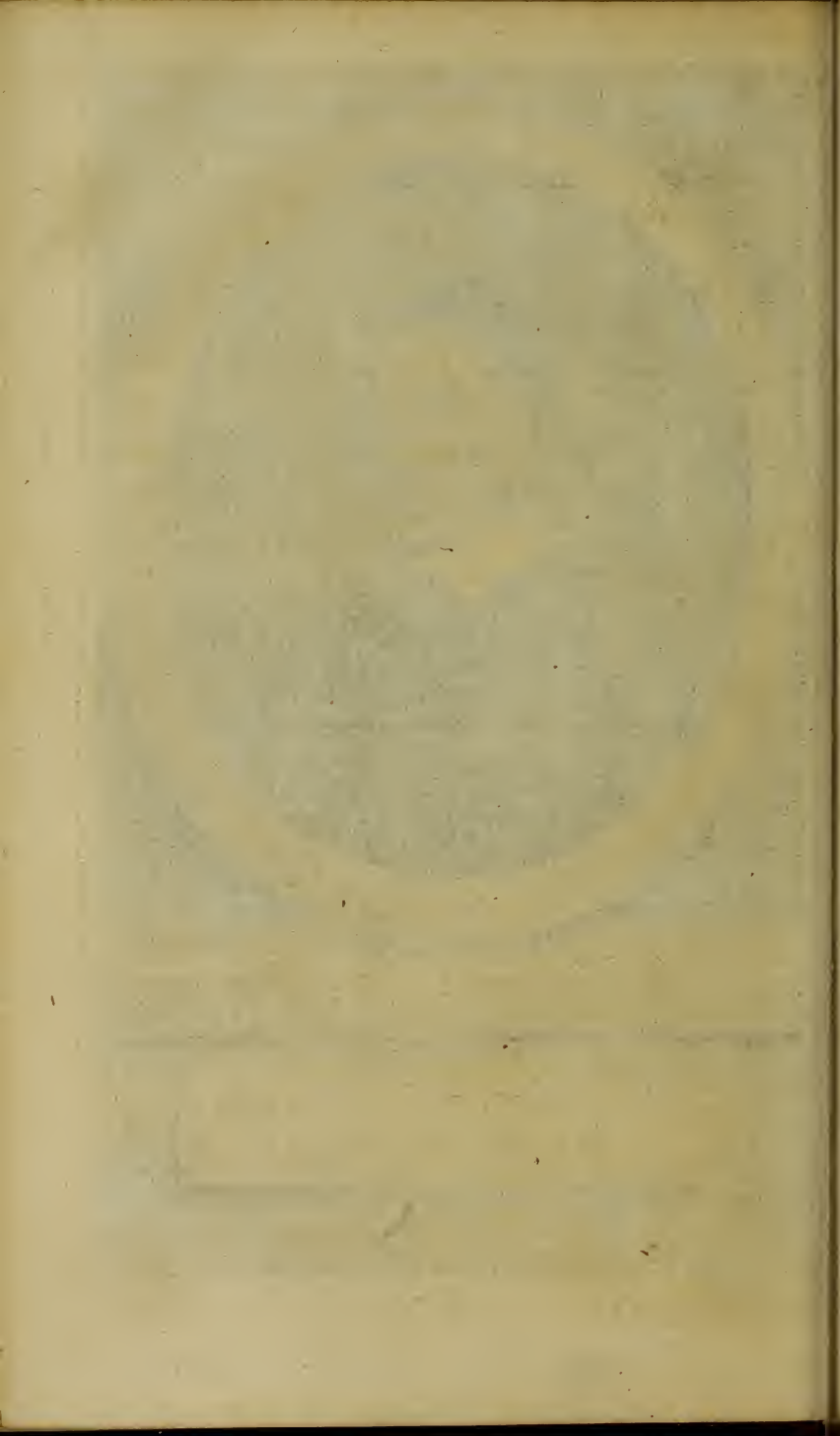
Most





*M. F. de Gucht fuit*

Mr Christo<sup>r</sup> Love  
MINISTER.



Most bitterly exclaiming against all  
 The Cavaliers, who bow'd their Knees to *Baal*;  
 Which ill-tim'd Sermon plainly shew'd, how far  
 Himself and Party were inclin'd to War;  
 And that by treating they design'd no more,  
 Than meerly trifling with the Sov'reign Pow'r,  
 Charging the King with their own stubborn Fault,  
 That things could to no fruitful End be brought.

*Just so the noisy disobedient Dame,  
 When'er she kindles a domestick flame,  
 Condemns her Nuptial Master for the same.*

A.D.

1651.

When *Fairfax* had declin'd the Rebel Host,  
 And crafty *Noll* succeeded in his Post,  
 Whilst with his active Army he remain'd  
 Ith' North, to terrify the *Scottish* Land,  
 Suppressing with his utmost Zeal and Care,  
 The *Presbyterian* Int'rest e'ery where;  
 The *Calvinists* b'ing angry they had lost  
 The Pow'r the *Independants* had ingross'd,  
 And finding *Cromwel* in a prosp'rous way  
 To cheat the Rump of the Imperial Sway,  
 Could not conform their Patience to endure  
 A single Person should possess the Pow'r;  
 Or that another Sectary should bear  
 The Rule, in which they wanted to have share,  
 Were therefore ripe and forward to Rebel  
 Against the *Independant* Commonweal;  
 Among the rest their preaching Idol, *Love*,  
 Was zealously industrious to improve  
 All Opportunities that might advance  
 The Int'rest of the *Presbyterians*,  
 In forwarding Designs to circumvent  
 The Pow'r that call'd themselves the *Parliament*;  
 Accordingly did divers Letters send  
 To *Scotland*, to a noted preaching Friend,

Con-



A.D. Concerning some Conspiracy in hand,  
 1651. 'Gainst those invested with the sole Command,  
 Which Cromwel intercepting, sent to Town,  
 Urging a speedy Prosecution;  
 Which was, pursuant to his Orders, made  
 With Rigour, that the Preacher lost his Head,  
 Not on the King's Account, as some agree,  
 But rather for his double Perfidy.

*For he that first Rebels, and does betray  
 The Prince he's bound in Duty to obey,  
 And then conspires against the trait'rous Pow'r,  
 Is twice the Villain that he was before.*



A. D.

1652.

The most

## Remarkable Transactions

Of the Fourth Year of the Reign of

King CHARLES the Second.

*Anno Dom. 1652.*

**T**He *Dutch* and *English* now took equal Care,  
T'equip their Fleets for the approaching War,  
Which was not yet proclaim'd, but smoth'ring lay,  
From their first Quarrel till the midst of *May*\*,  
About which time some *English* Frigots met  
With three *Dutch* Convoys to a Trading Fleet,  
Bound homewards from the *Streights*, and being hal'd  
By Captain *Young*, an *Englishman*, who sail'd  
As Commodore, he did demand the *Dutch*  
To strike their Flag upon his Ships approach;  
Which their Chief Adm'ral did, without controul;  
But bearing up to their Vice Admiral,  
He proudly answer'd, *He would not consent*  
*To pay the English such a Complement:*  
So that a smart Engagement 'twixt the two,  
Upon these words, did instantly ensue,  
Till by their spitfire Instruments of Wrath,  
Much Blood was spilt, and Mischief done by both;  
At length the *Dutchman*, e're 'twas Night, comply'd  
To strike his Flag, and low'r his stubborn Pride.

\* *The Fourteenth.*

Then

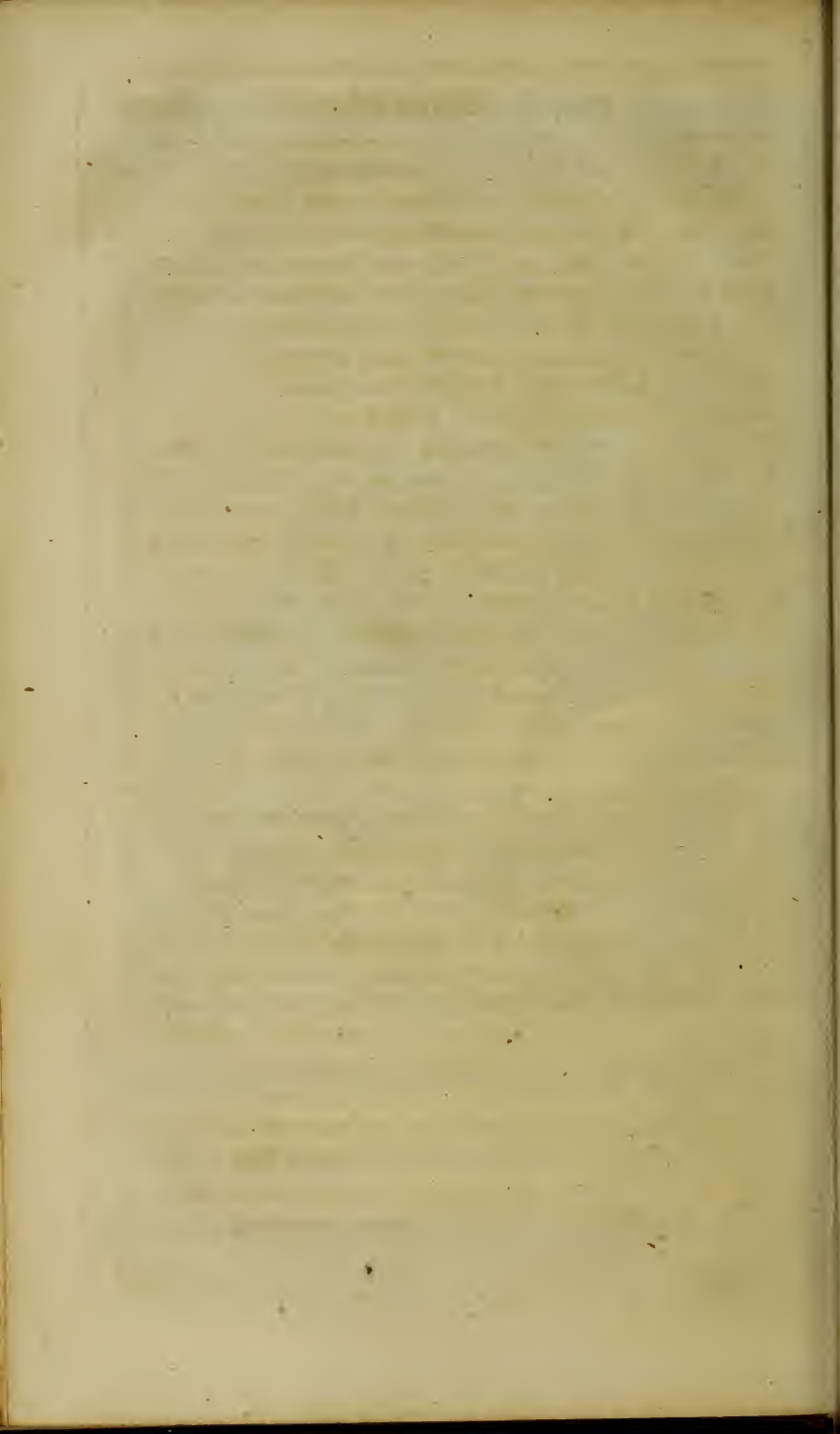
A. D. When *Young* did of the Admiral demand  
 1652. His Ship or Person for the Wrong sustain'd ;  
 Who answer'd, *Tho' he'd Struck he'd still secure*  
*Himself and Ship to th' utmost of his Pow'r.*  
*Young*, who was fresh allarm'd with this untow'rd  
 Reply, call'd all his Officers on Board,  
 Who cautiously advis'd him to forbear  
 Engaging, since the *Dutch* had struck, for fear  
 The War ensuing should be charg'd upon  
 His Rashness, and the Quarrel he'd begun ;  
 Therefore Night coming on, they did agree  
 To bear away and leave the Enemy.

About a Fortnight after this, *Van Trump*  
 Near to the *Godwin* Sands, appear'd in Pomp,  
 With Forty-two stout Sail of Men of War ;  
 Whilst Major *Bourn*, a Naval Officer,  
 Ith' *Downs*, with sev'ral *English* Frigots lay,  
 To guard the River and the Towns that way,  
 To whom *Van Trump* two Captains sent, to make  
 A blind excuse for coming on the back  
 O'th' *Godwin*. *Bourn* replying, *Tho' he'd sent*  
*No other than a civil Compliment,*  
*Yet, to confirm it real, without Art,*  
*He ought from thence to speedily depart.*  
 With which Return the crafty *Dutch* comply'd,  
 Hoping the Major would be satisfy'd  
 When they had left the Coast, and think they meant  
 No Insult to his Lords the Parliament :  
 But they'd no sooner, as they thought, prevail'd  
 With *Bourn* to think 'em harmless, but they sail'd  
 Tow'rd's Adm'ral *Blake*, then cruizing on the Seas,  
 To guard the *English* Coast from Enemies,  
 The Rump b'ing then in Enmity with *France*,  
 Having just taken seven Ships from thence,





Rob<sup>t</sup> Blake ADMIRAL.





A. D.  
1652.

As going to the Aid of *Dunkirk Town*,  
When close beleaguer'd by the *Spanish Crown* :  
But *Bourn* suspecting what the *Dutch* design'd,  
Soon hoisted Sail, and with a prosp'rous Wind,  
Came within sight of *Blake*, as *Trump* had brought  
His Fleet within the reach of Cannon-shot.  
No sooner had the Adm'rals look'd npon  
Each other, but the *English* fir'd a Gun,  
A second and a third, for *Trump* to low'r  
The flying Ancient that he proudly bore,  
Which he refus'd, and in return defy'd  
The *English* Adm'ral with a fiery side ;  
By that time *Bourn* came up with *Blake*, and now  
The Breach did to a warm Engagement grow ;  
From two a Clock continuing the Fight,  
Till parted by the darkness of the Night,  
Wherein the *English* did the better gain.  
But tho' they fought so long, yet few were slain,  
Two *Dutchmen* chiefly suff'ring in the Fray,  
One sunk, and t'other born by *Blake* away.

Th' Embassadors from *Holland*, who, as yet,  
Resided here, that they might further treat  
About the League in hand, did now present  
A Paper to the *English* Government,  
Affirming this Encounter 'twixt the Fleets,  
Was without Will or Knowledge of the States,  
Desiring nothing might be done thereon,  
In heat, but wav'd until the Truth was known.  
The Rump, however, would no time delay,  
But Voted the States-General should pay  
The Charges they'd been at, and should repair  
What Damage they had suffer'd in the War ;  
When these were all made good, that there should be  
A firm Cessation of Hostility,

And

A. D. And mutual Restitution of all Goods

1652. And Ships since the beginning of their Feuds ;  
 ~~~~~ That when these things were done, between the two  
 Republick States a League should then ensue.  
 To this the Embassadors could nothing say,  
 Were therefore soon dispatch'd and sent away.  
 The Quarrel now being openly declar'd,  
 And all things for a vigorous War prepar'd,  
*Trump* into *Zealand* hasten'd with his Fleet,  
 To make the same more formidably great ;  
 Whilst *Blake* to *Orkney* Islands made his way,  
 Where Numbers of *Dutch* Busses fishing lay,  
 And having under his commanding Care,  
 A noble Fleet of Sev'nty Men of War,  
 Took six of their twelve Convoys, Ships of Force,  
 And did the rest, with their small Craft, disperse ;  
 Nine hundred Pris'ners into *Yarmouth* brought,  
 To shew the Herring-catchers now were caught ;  
 With many Spoils and Prizes he had won,  
 In this his Northern Expedition ;  
 Tho' fail'd of five *Dutch* Ships from *India* bound,  
 That were to come by *Orkney* Islands round ;  
 But Chance or Caution did their speed delay,  
 Till th' *English* Fleet had homewards made their way.

In this precarious Juncture of Affairs,  
 When the proud Rump were thus engag'd in Wars,  
 \* *Ascue* the Knight return'd with fifteen Sail  
 Of Ships of War from the *Barbadoes* Isle,  
 And, by Command, i'th' Downs, at Anchor staid,  
 Till the *Thames* furnish'd him with further Aid.  
*Van Trump*, the while, had so enlarg'd his Fleet,  
 That he commanded sixscore Sail compleat ;

---

\* *Sir George*

A. D.

1652

W

With which not far from the Land's end he lay,  
 Endeav'ring, for a time, to force his way  
 'Twixt *Ascue* and the River, but the Wind  
 Oppos'd the fatal Work the *Van* design'd,  
 Till he was call'd to *Holland* to Convoy  
 Some Merchants Ships who did for safeguard lie.  
 Thence sail'd to *Orkney* Islands to secure  
 The Ships which *Blake* had waited for before,  
 Whither, most richly Laden, they were come,  
 And sent from thence, by *Trump*, in safety home ;  
 Who then endeavour'd to engage with *Blake*,  
 But cross repugnant Winds still kept him back,  
 Till a fierce Storm, at length, dispers'd his Fleet,  
 And forc'd them, in small Bodies to retreat,  
 All gladly getting home what ways they cou'd,  
 To shun the terror of the Winds that blow'd,  
 Whilst lucky *Blake*, as 'tis express'd before,  
 With his *Dutch* Captives, reach'd the *Yarmouth* Shore.

In *August* foll'wing *Ascue* being sent  
 To Sea, by the Command of Parliament,  
 With forty Sail of Frigots, chanc'd to meet  
 The Sturdy Adm'ral of the *Zealand* Fleet \*,  
 In number fifty Men of War, imploy'd  
 T'attend some Merchants Vessels they Convoy'd;  
 But when *De Ruyter*, who had Chief Command  
 O'th' *Dutch*, beheld the *English* Fleet at hand,  
 He sent away his Traders and prepar'd  
 His Ships of Force to stand upon their Guard,  
 Which with Precipitation being done,  
 The *English*, with their usual warmth, fell on,  
 Both Sides engaging from the Hour of Four \*  
 Till Night came on, and forc'd them to give o'er,

\* August 16.

† In the Afternoon.



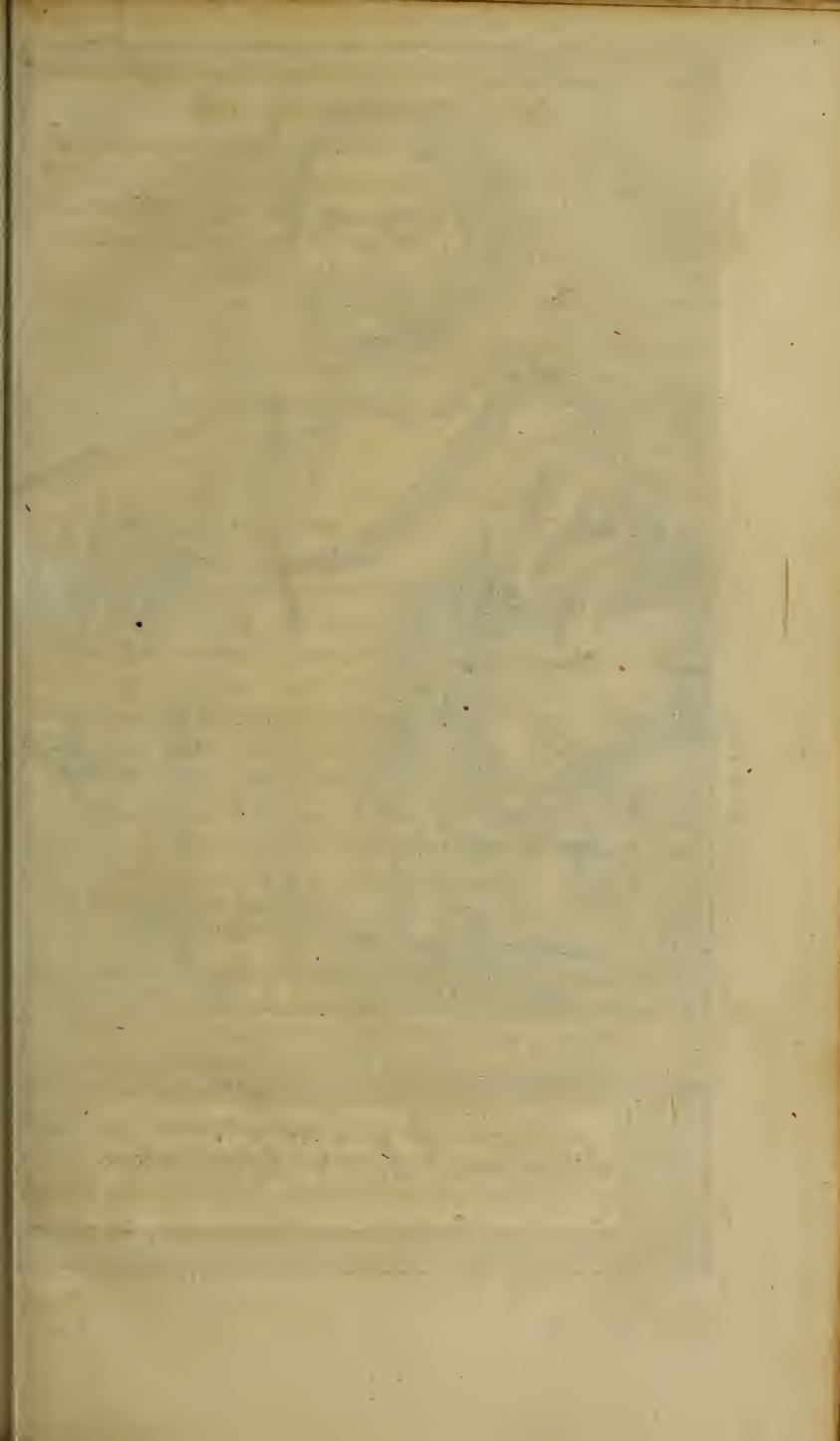
A.D. De Ruyter making to a Gallick Port,  
 1652. Whose Squadrons had sustain'd the greatest hurt;  
 Whilſt for the Port of *Plymouth* *Aſcue* ply'd,  
 With little leſs than Victory on his Side,  
 Which, 'twas believ'd, he might have made compleat,  
 Had he engag'd the Foe with all his Fleet;  
 But ſome being Merchants Ships the Rump had hir'd,  
 Lay by, or lag'd behind, and never fir'd,  
 That tho' his Lords thought proper to reward  
 The Knight for his good Service done on Board,  
 Yet, for ſome Reaſons, they would never more  
 Truſt him by Sea with any Naval Pow'r,  
 But voted *Dean* and *Monk*, with *Blake*, ſhould be  
 Their only next Years Admirals by Sea.

*Van Trump*, for ſome Reproaches, now deſir'd  
 To quit his Charge, accordingly retir'd;  
 And one *Wit-Witers*, of the *Holland* breed,  
 Did, with *De Ruyter*, in his Poſt ſucceed,  
 Who, in *October*, with a noble Fleet,  
 Came forth, in hopes to do ſome wondrous Feat,  
 And by the ſide of the *Northforeland* lay,  
 To take what *English* Shipping paſ'd that way;  
 But *Blake*, who, on the *Western* Coaſt had ta'en  
 Five heavy laden *Dutch* *West-India* Men, (bound,  
 And Six which from the *Streights* were homewards  
 Computed worth Two-hundred-thouſand Pound,  
 No ſooner heard the News but ſteer'd his Courſe  
 Tow'rds the proud Foe, to battle Force with Force,  
 And ſo diſpos'd his Squadrons under *Penn*  
 And *Bourn* \* that, with the loſs of fewer Men  
 Than periſh'd on the other Side, they beat  
 The *Dutch* †, and many Leagues purſu'd their Fleet,

\* His Vice and Rear Admirals.

† October 28.







*Admi<sup>l</sup> VAN TRUMP.*

Took their Rear-Adm'ral, and to *Neptune's* Throne A.D.  
 Two Ships they sacrific'd, and blow'd up one: 1652.  
*Blake* with Success continuing his Chase  
 Within twelve Leagues, toth' Eastward of the *Maze*;  
 From thence, with his two Adm'als, *Penn* and *Bourn*,  
 Did, in great Triumph, to the *Downs* return,  
 Losing no Ship, the Vict'ry to impair,  
 Such was the Hero's Courage, such his Care.

The *States* concern'd that they the Day had lost,  
 Recall'd *Van Trump* into his former Post;  
 Who put to Sea forthwith, and spread the Main  
 With Eighty Men of War and Fireships Ten;  
 Which Fleet he to the back o'th' *Goodwin* brought,  
 Near to the place where the last Fight was fought:  
*Blake* lying in the *Downs*, who when he heard  
 The News, for a fresh Contest now prepar'd,  
 And weighing Anchor with a swelling Gale,  
 Skudded before the Wind with Forty Sail,  
 To battle twice the Number, without fear,  
 Where'er the Foe should on the Seas appear;  
 Sending out Seven Ships a head, to Scout,  
 And find their pow'rful Adversaries out,  
 Who meeting Nine *Dutch* Frigots in their way,  
 On the same Errand; these began the Fray,  
 Till both the daring Admirals came in,  
 And furiously carr'd on the bloody Scene\*,  
 Fighting by Moonshine from the Hour of Two,  
 Till Daylight did the Odds in Number shew,  
 Bravely maintaining the uncertain Fight,  
 Thro' *Sol's* Diurnal Course, to Six at Night,  
 When both drew off their Squadrons, but the *Dutch*,  
 By Strength superior, got the better much,

---

\* November 29.



A. D. Tho' in the Fray one Flag-Ship of their own,  
 1652. Was, by some Accident, to shatters blown,  
 And all her Compliment but Two, at most,  
 Were in the dreadful Flash of Light'ning lost,  
 Besides an equal Number of their Men,  
 At least, were in the long Engagement slain :  
 But that which gave the Vict'ry to their Side,  
 And puff'd 'em up with Insolence and Pride,  
 Was, that they took Two Frigots, sunk Three more,  
 And, with a Fireship, burnt a Sixth near Shore ;  
 Blake up the *Thames* retiring with his Fleet  
 Much shatter'd, tho' with no Dishonour Beat.  
 However, *Trump*, to let the *English* see  
 His Pride, or rather Childish Vanity,  
 Vapour'd 'twixt here and *Holland*, as 'tis said,  
 With a Broom fix'd upon his Topmast-Head,  
 By which the Pickl'd-Herring seem'd to mean,  
 He'd sweep the Seas of *English* Shipping clean.  
 But all these Boastings of their great Success,  
 As yet, inclin'd not *England* to a Peace ;  
 The sturdy Rump, tho' vex'd, abating none  
 O'th' Terms they had before insisted on,  
 But Sixscore-thousand Pounds severely laid  
 Upon the People to be Monthly paid,  
 Tow'rd's carry'ng on a necessary War  
 Against the *Dutch* the next succeeding Year.

*Cromwel* still wanting to dissolve the Rump,  
 That he might raise himself to Sov'reign Pomp,  
 Stir'd up the Army to subscribe and send  
 Petitions and Addresses to that End,  
 And other Papers full of gauling words,  
 To ruffle and perplex his Ruling Lords,  
 That they, at length, tho' backward to comply,  
 Yet being aw'd, and fearful to deny,

Deter-



Determin'd by an Act to sit no more  
 After *November* Treason Fifty-four.  
 But *Cromwel* not content they should maintain  
 The Rule so long, resolv'd to dock their Reign,  
 Well knowing that himself could never tow'r,  
 Whilst such a croud of Kings usurp'd the Pow'r.

A.D.  
 1652:  
 503

The Rump b'ing much concern'd at the Reproach  
 Put on the *English* Navy by the *Dutch*,  
 Resolv'd to Man out, for the time to come,  
 An able Fleet, to make 'em low'r their Broom;  
 Accordingly *Blake*, *Dean*, and *Monk* were sent;  
 With Eighty Sail, not doubting but th' Event  
 Would prove so prosp'rous to the *English* Side,  
 As to make *Trump* repent his foolish Pride.  
 Big with these Hopes the sturdy Gen'als \* weigh'd  
 Their Anchors †, and in Pomp their Flags display'd;  
 And from the Town of *Queenborough* steer'd their course  
 Tow'rds *Portsmouth*, where they join'd their Naval Force  
 And, in a Body, sail'd from thence to meet  
 Imperious *Trump* with his Victorious Fleet,  
 Which, to the South of *Portland*, they espy'd;  
 With a large Fleet of Merchants || he Convoy'd,  
 All Laden homewards bound, beneath the Care  
 (As their Prints own'd) of Seventy Men of War,  
 Which Adm'ral *Trump* collected, upon sight  
 Of th' *English* Squadrons, and prepar'd to Fight ‡;  
 At t' Hour of Eight i'th' Morning they begun  
 Their Battle, and with equal Rage fell on,  
 Fought for three Days, whilst they had Wind and Light;  
 And only ceas'd when Calm, or in the Night;  
 Till *Blake*, by downright Brav'ry, in the End,  
 A gallant Vict'ry o'er the Foe obtain'd,

\* Call'd so by the Parliament.

|| 300 Sail.

† February 8.

‡ February 13.

A.D. Taking and sinking, e're the *Dutch* gave o'er,  
 1652. One Flagship, and Ten other Men of War,  
 Took also Thirty Merchant Ships beside,  
 And Fifteen-hundred of their Men destroy'd;  
 Losing no more, in all the hot Dispute,  
 Than one small Frigate\*, whose Commander fought  
 Till She sunk und'r'im, but some Boats that gave  
 Assistance, did himself and Seamen save.  
 Thus all the Vanity which *Trump* had shown  
 For one poor Victory scandalously won  
 By Odds in Number, was return'd, at length,  
 Upon the boasting *Van* by equal Strength;  
 Who, with Dishonour, sneak'd well beaten home,  
 Much laugh'd at for his Hieroglyphick Broom.

*'Tis dang'rous to insult a worsted Foe,  
 Whilst he has Pow'r to stand a second Blow;  
 For Insolence to Courage adds such spight,  
 That makes the Brave with double Fury fight.*

---

\* The Sampson.

The End of the Fourth Year.

---

A.D.  
1652.



THE  
CHARACTER

OF THE

*Earl of NORWICH,*

*Father of the Lord GORING.*

**H**Is youthful Days the Loyal Worthy spent  
 In sprightly Pastimes, Wine and Merriment,  
 Till Wisdom, Age, and Gravity came on,  
 And then he left those Pleasures to his Son.  
 Was favour'd by his Prince, as fit to trust,  
 And in the worst of Times prov'd Firm and Just :  
 Was, in the King's declension of his Pow'r,  
 To *France* sent over his Ambassador ;  
 Where he remain'd till Royal Goodness fell  
 Into their Hands, too Vile to use him well ;  
 And then return'd to *England*, by Consent  
 Of those Imperious Lords the Parliament ;  
 The Earl pretending to compound for all  
 His Loyal Vertues with that black Cabal,  
 A Favour which they granted unto some  
 Who'd done 'em no great Mischief here at home :  
 But finding, after he some Months had spent  
 In *England*, that the Royalists in *Kent*  
 Were up in Arms, and having Int'rest there  
 To head their Troops, did privately repair



A. D. 1652. To *Maidstone*, where he found an able Force,  
 Well Arm'd, consisting both of Foot and Horse;  
 But being in Affairs of War unskill'd,  
 For want of due Experience in the Field,  
 Left half his Host at *Maidstone* to be beat  
 By *Fairfax* with an Army twice as great;  
 Whilst, with the rest of his divided Pow'r,  
 Himself unactive lay at *Rocheſter*;  
 When if his Forces had united been,  
 He might have turn'd the Tide and chang'd the Scene;  
 For had he fought one Battle with Success,  
 'Twas the Rump's Fear, and e'ery Body's Gueſs,  
 That *London* would have left the Rebel Herd,  
 And gladly for the Royal Cause declar'd;  
 But the wrong Measures of the Earl, at length,  
 Oblig'd him, with some Remnants of his Strength,  
 To croſs the *Thames* to *Effex*, where he join'd  
 Brave *Liſle* and *Lucas*, cordially inclin'd  
 To ſerve the King, and to that End had rais'd  
 Their Friends, who equal Loyalty profeſs'd:  
 But knowing *Fairfax*, from the *Kentish* Shore,  
 With Force ſuperior ſoon would Ferry o'er,  
 The Royal Troops, to be the more ſecure,  
 Retir'd into the Town of *Cockcheſter*,  
 Where being cloſe Beſieg'd, they were compel'd,  
 After a long and brave Defence, to yield:  
 From whence the Earl was to the *Tow'r* convey'd,  
 Try'd by th' High-Court, and doom'd to loſe his Head;  
 But ſav'd his Life by a Petition ſent  
 To th' Rump, which mollify'd the Parliament,  
 So far, that in his Lordſhip's doubtful Caſe,  
 The Houſe prov'd equal in their Yeas and Na's,  
 That the deciding Vote for Life or Death,  
 Remain'd intirely in the Speaker's Breath,  
 Who to ſome former Service had regard,  
 And for the Earl, in Gratitude, declar'd:



By which kind Providence he liv'd to see  
The End of vile Rebellious Tyranny,  
And with glad Eyes beheld the vacant Throne  
Replenish'd justly by the Royal Son.

A.D.

1652,

W

*So when the God of Day withdraws his Light,  
And loud Tempestuous Winds break loose by Night,  
Some Noble Cedars stand securely fast,  
Whilst neighb'ring Thousands perish by the Blast.*

A.D.

1652.



THE

*Earl of LAUTHERDALE'S*  
C H A R A C T E R.

**H**IS Parts and his Industry both were great,  
And well adapted to Intrigues of State :  
None with more Cunning could contrive a bad  
Design, or foll'w it cloſer when 'twas laid.  
In Flatt'ry he excel'd the Northern Race,  
And to his Foes could ſhew a friendly Face ;  
To gain his Point would act a treach'rous Part,  
And hide, with Smiles, the Malice of his Heart :  
But, where he'd Power, was by Nature bent  
To be Imperious, Stern, and Insolent ;  
Tho' in the wrong, too Stubborn to be won  
From his own Judgment or Opinion :  
Which Temper he preserv'd intirely free  
From Honour, Justice, and from Loyalty,  
That, void of all Restriction, he rely'd  
On Prejudice and Passion for his Guide,  
Which he alone consulted, and pursu'd  
Their Dictates, foreign to his Country's good ;  
Tho' not a *Scot* could better understand  
The dark Designs both Kingdoms had in hand,  
Whilst they united to oppose the Crown,  
That they might pull the Church and Monarch down;

For

For early he rebell'd, when scarce of Age,  
And was of those that did at first engage  
Against the King, and unrepenting run  
Thro' all the Series of Rebellion ;  
Would not forsake what once he had embrac'd,  
But in the wrong continu'd to the last.

A.D.

1652.

w

*So the Fair Damsel, when she's leap'd the Fence  
Of Vertue, and abus'd her Innocence,  
Knowing her Honour is eclips'd thereby,  
Pursues the Folly 'twas her Fate to try.*

The

A.D.

1653.

The most

## Remarkable Transactions

Of the Fifth Year of the Reign of

King CHARLES the Second,

*Anno Dom. 1653.*

**N**OL wanting now but one Gradation more,  
 From his High Station to the Sov'reign Pow'r,  
 Which was to set his Foot upon the Necks  
 O'th' Rump, who only could his Scheme perplex;  
 Therefore resolv'd to speedily exert  
 His Martial Pow'r, and act the Tyrant's Part,  
 And to effect by Violence what he thought,  
 By gentle Means, could not so well be wrought;  
 Accordingly to his Assistance calls  
 Two of his trusty Major-Generals,  
*Lambert and Harrison*, with many more  
 Great Officers, to countenance his Pow'r;  
 Also a Guard sufficient to correct  
 Ill Manners, Stubborness, or Disrespect:  
 And thus attended in surprising Pomp,  
 He march'd to pay a Visit to the Rump\*,  
 To whom he spoke some few imperious words,  
 And, in the end, dissolv'd his Sov'reign Lords,  
 Lock'd up the House, and left a rugged Guard  
 Behind, their further Meeting to retard;

\* April 23.



Which daring Act the Publick did commend, A.D.  
 Above the greatest Vict'ries he had gain'd; 1653.  
 Whilst the Rump Members, who, before their Fall, W  
 Had the whole Sway, became the Scorn of all.

*Thus when the Greater Tyrant awes the Less,  
 One wins Applause, the other meets Disgrace;  
 For all Men slight Usurpers when they've lost  
 The Ruling Pow'r they wrongfully ingross'd.*

The Dutch b'ing now prepar'd again to try  
 If they could ballance their lost Victory,  
 Dispatch'd to Sea a Hundred and Four Men  
 Of War, Twelve Sail of Galliots, Fire-Ships Ten,  
 With Trump, De Ruyter, Wittens, and two more\*,  
 Who shar'd among them the Commanding Pow'r.  
 Monk, join'd with Dean, were order'd out to meet  
 The Dutch with not a much inferior Fleet †,  
 Wh'attack'd the Foe the second Day of June,  
 Betwixt Eleven and Twelve a Clock at Noon,  
 Both Sides performing on the wat'ry Stage  
 Their Parts, with envious and obdurate Rage,  
 Till a stark Calm their Fury did abate,  
 And gave a cooling respite to their Heat;  
 But after two unactive Hours a Gale  
 Sprung up afresh, and to't again they fell,  
 Darting their merciless Thunderbolts till Night  
 Delay'd, but did not end their bloody Fight;  
 For next Day Noon Monk made a new Attack,  
 And fought till Ninety of the Dutch gave back,  
 Twenty of which return'd at Trump's Command,  
 But Sev'nty would the Brunt no longer stand;  
 That in the end the English won the Day,  
 And sent the Dutch, once more, well bang'd away,

---

\* The Everfons.

† Penn Vice, Lawson Rear-Admiral.

A. D. Sunk Six of their best Ships, Two more they lost  
 1653. In heat of Battle by a Powder blast;  
 ~~~~~ Brought in Ten Hoys, Eleven Ships of Force,  
 And almost Fourteen-hundred Prisoners;  
 Three of the batter'd number they had ta'en,  
 Proving large Flag-Ships, well supply'd with Men;  
 Losing but one small Frigot in the Fight,  
 From which the *Dutch* withdrew near Ten at Night,  
 Dean, *Monk's* Assistant-Gen'ral, being cut  
 In two i'th' middle by a fatal Shot,  
 As by his Valiant Partner's Side he stood  
 Upon the slipp'ry Deck that flow'd with Blood,  
 This Vict'ry to the *English* prov'd so great,  
 That the *Dutch* sent Embassadors to treat,  
 Tho' the fierce War did not determine here,  
 As will hereafter in its place appear.

Now all that *Cromwel* wanted was to gain  
 A House of Commons that would fix his Reign,  
 Knowing 'twas best and safest to receive  
 A Right from them which none had Right to give,  
 Yet thought their Sanction the securest way  
 To make the Croud more passively obey:  
 But e're his Highness could this Work compleat,  
 He call'd a *Council*, which he stil'd, of *State*,  
 Made up of his own Creatures, and to them  
 Did seemingly resign the Pow'r supreme,  
 Only till he could form a friendly House  
 Of Commons, fit for his ambitious use;  
 Which he accomplish'd soon, with no small Art,  
 According to the Wishes of his Heart;  
 And from the Council did to them transfer  
 The Pow'r to his new Friends, with special Care  
 That when he'd made his chosen Tribe supreme,  
 They might, in Form, resign the same to him;

Yet,

Yet, for Security, thought fit to call  
A new Commanding Council or Cabal,  
Consisting of his greatest Officers,  
Who Audience gave to all Embassadors,  
Made Ordinances, binding Laws and Rules,  
As if they meant the Commons but their Tools,  
Who on the fourth of *July* fill'd the House,  
And, for their Speaker, chose one *Francis Rouse* \*;  
Calling their wild Convention by the Name  
Of *England's Parliament*, to *England's* Shame;  
For thus establish'd they began to make  
New Statutes, so ridiculously weak,  
As if 'twas *Cromwel's* principal Intent,  
By chusing Men to so much Folly bent,  
To bring a publick Odium and Disgrace  
On Parliaments, that he again might raise  
The Monarchy, at which His Highness aim'd,  
To some Repute, which had so long been blam'd.  
One Act they fram'd, that future Marriages  
Should all be made by Justices o'th' Peace,  
Declaring such to be of no effect,  
Perform'd not as that Statute did direct;  
Yet none by this new Law forbidden were  
To Marry by a Priest or Minister;  
Which caus'd all Loving Pairs, who fear'd this last  
New Tye scarce strong enough to bind 'em fast,  
To Marry both ways, that the Bonds of Love  
Might, by a double Knot, the stronger prove:  
They also took off the Engagement laid  
By the preceeding Parliament, which made  
All Persons that refus'd to stoop thereto,  
Incapable in any Court to Sue.  
They also very wisely undertook  
To Cancel all the Laws, and ev'ry Book

A. D.  
1653.



\* A Cornish Member.



A. D. 1653. Thereto belonging, and to frame a Code  
More short and easy for the Publick Good,  
Such as might better suit that impious Herd  
Of Fools who for Fifth Monarchy declar'd,  
Of which Fanatick Tribe, profoundly dull,  
This Bedlam of a Parliament were full:  
They likewise fram'd a Bill, in their defence,  
Henceforward to perpetuate Parliaments,  
That *Phoenix*-like, to still preserve the Breed,  
One should beget another to succeed,  
By issuing out their Writs upon the Day  
Themselves resign'd their arbitrary Sway ;  
But e're they brought these two last Acts to bear,  
They crush'd themselves, like Blockheads as they were.  
For they began, in their Debates, to be  
So full of Notion, Grace, and Mystery,  
That had they sate much longer in the House,  
They would have made all Pow'r ridiculous,  
Arraigning, as an Antichristian Vice,  
The Maintenance of Ministers by Tythes,  
And rais'd up such Disputes that made 'em fall  
Beneath the Scorn and Ridicule of all ;  
That *Rouse* the Speaker, *Cromwel's* Cordial Friend,  
And others in the self-same Int'rest join'd,  
After the Council had the Feud begun,  
And warmly press'd their Dissolution,  
Stood up and told the rest, 'Twas neither fit  
Nor needful they a longer time should sit.  
The Speaker then withdrawing from his Chair,  
Follow'd by all who of his Faction were,  
Went with his Mace before him to *Whitehall* ;  
And there deliver'd back to Pious *Nol*,  
The Instrument which he before to them  
Had giv'n, when first into the House they came,  
Whilst *Harrison*, who had before laid down  
His Major-Generals Commission,



Staid with those wild Enthusions, who maintain,  
 King *Jesus* only hath the Pow'r to Reign  
 As Monarch o'er the Saints, and they alone  
 The Right to Govern all beneath his Throne:  
 A Faith that makes 'em near to Heav'n ally'd,  
 And bends their Reason to their Holy Pride;  
 But these too stubborn to attend on *Rouse*,  
 Were soon Dissolv'd \*, and forc'd to quit the House,  
 By a strong Guard of Soldiers, who were sent  
 To scowre the Righteous Dregs of Parliament.  
 Thus first the Rump extorted from the Throne  
 The Pow'r Supreme, by their Rebellion,  
*Cromwel*, by Violence, dispossesses them,  
 And to another Senate gives the same,  
 That from their Hands he might again receive,  
 What neither he nor they had Right to give.

*So Boys at Cricket bang the Ball about,  
 Till he that's most expert bowls t'other out.*

*Cromwel* in four Days after † he had plaid  
 This Trick with those new Lords himself had made,  
 Byth' Council having been desir'd to take  
 The Rule upon him for his Country's sake,  
 Humbly submitted to that painful Trust,  
 And took an Oath to Govern and be Just,  
 According to a Scrowl that did contain  
 Some certain Rules by which he was to Reign;  
 The same being read before he was Install'd,  
 Which Obligation by the Saints was call'd,  
*The Instrument*, to make themselves secure  
 From Monarchy and Arbitrary Pow'r.

*Just so the Godly, who for Conscience sake  
 Dissent, in Times of Persecution take  
 Those Oaths and Sacraments they mean to break.*

A.D.

1653.

His Highness chiefly was enjoin'd the Care  
 Of Calling Senate's e'ery *Tertian* Year,  
 The first of which should in *September* meet,  
 And on the third thereof begin to sit;  
 That no new Parliament should be dismiss'd  
 Until the same had sat Five Months at least;  
 Also what Bills the Commons then should lay  
 Before him, should within the Twenti'th Day  
 Receive His Highness's Assent, if not,  
 The same should Pass, and be in Force without:  
 That he should call a Council to consist  
 Of Twenty-one at most, Thirteen at least,  
 Who after the Protector's Death should meet,  
 And chuse another for that Station fit;  
 With sev'ral more Conditions, but of all  
 The Compact these were most material.  
 Thus was he rais'd from fighting for his Bread,  
 To Rule those Fools by whom he first was made.  
*So Thieves, when they have rob'd, take always care  
 To give the boldest Rogue the biggest Share.*

During these Managements the *Dutch*, tho' full  
 Of Spleen, had underhand apply'd to *Nol*,  
 And made some Overtures of Peace, but yet  
 Were so disgust'd with their last Defeat,  
 That they resolv'd to make one Tryal more  
 At Sea, their late lost Credit to restore;  
 Accordingly they fitted out a Fleet,  
 In strength a Hundred-twenty-five compleat,  
 That *Trump* once more his Fortitude might show,  
 And boldly venture a deciding Blow\*.

---

\* The Admirals under Trump were, *Everson*, *Floris*, and *Witt-Wittens*.

A. D.

1653



*Blake* was so Indispos'd he could not head  
 The Fleet that *Monk* commanded in his stead,  
 With *Penn* and *Lawson* for his Vice and Rear,  
 Who with a Hundred and Six Men of War  
 Put out to Sea, in order to defy  
 The Pow'r of the superior Enemy :  
 At length the *English*, early in the Morn \*  
 Espy'd the *Dutch*, but were so far a Stern,  
 That 'twas some Hours before the Fleets were got  
 Within the fatal reach of Cannon-shot :  
 Soon after Six the *English* came so near,  
 That their Light-Ships had signal giv'n to Fire;  
 Till their proud Chiefs came up to carry on  
 The bloody Scene, with equal Heat begun :  
*Monk*, who resolv'd to fight the Battle hard,  
 And that no Blood should be by Mercy spar'd;  
 Gave Orders, that no Captain in the Fleet  
 Should Quarter give, or to the same submit,  
 But haul in close, Example take by him,  
 And fight it to a period, sink or swim.  
 This made the Battle terribly severe,  
 And both Sides struggle without Hope or Fear;  
 That shatter'd Limbs and Splinters flew about,  
 And wreaking Gore at Scupper-holes run out,  
 Till the sad Seas in which the Fleets were spread,  
 Their verdent Colour chang'd from Green to Red;  
 And all that Air wherein their Thunder broke,  
 Was, by their Cannon, turn'd to Fire and Smoke;  
 Both Sides contending with unweary'd Heat,  
 As if both equally resolv'd to get  
 The Viç'try, or to drown in Blood and Sweat.

\* July 29.



A.D.

1653.

W

However, after two Days dreadful Fight,  
 (The Battle only ceasing in the Night,  
 Trump by a Musket-Bullet being slain,  
 A Flag-Ship sunk, and their Rear-Adm'ral \* ta'en)  
 The *Dutch* despairing did their Canvas spread,  
 And fairly beaten to the *Texel* fled,  
 Returning less by Three and Thirty Sail,  
 All which a Sacrifice to *Neptune* fell,  
 The *English* saving from the gaping Waves,  
 Twelve-hundred Souls, the rest had watry Graves;  
 The Victors only losing in the Fray  
 One Ship, which to the Bottom made her way,  
 Eight Captains and Four-hundred Common-Men,  
 B'ing all that on the *English* Side were slain.

*Thus wealthy Nations quarrel to procure  
 That Peace and Friendship they enjoy'd before,  
 Only the Lucky Side that wins the Day,  
 Makes t'other all their fighting Charges pay.*

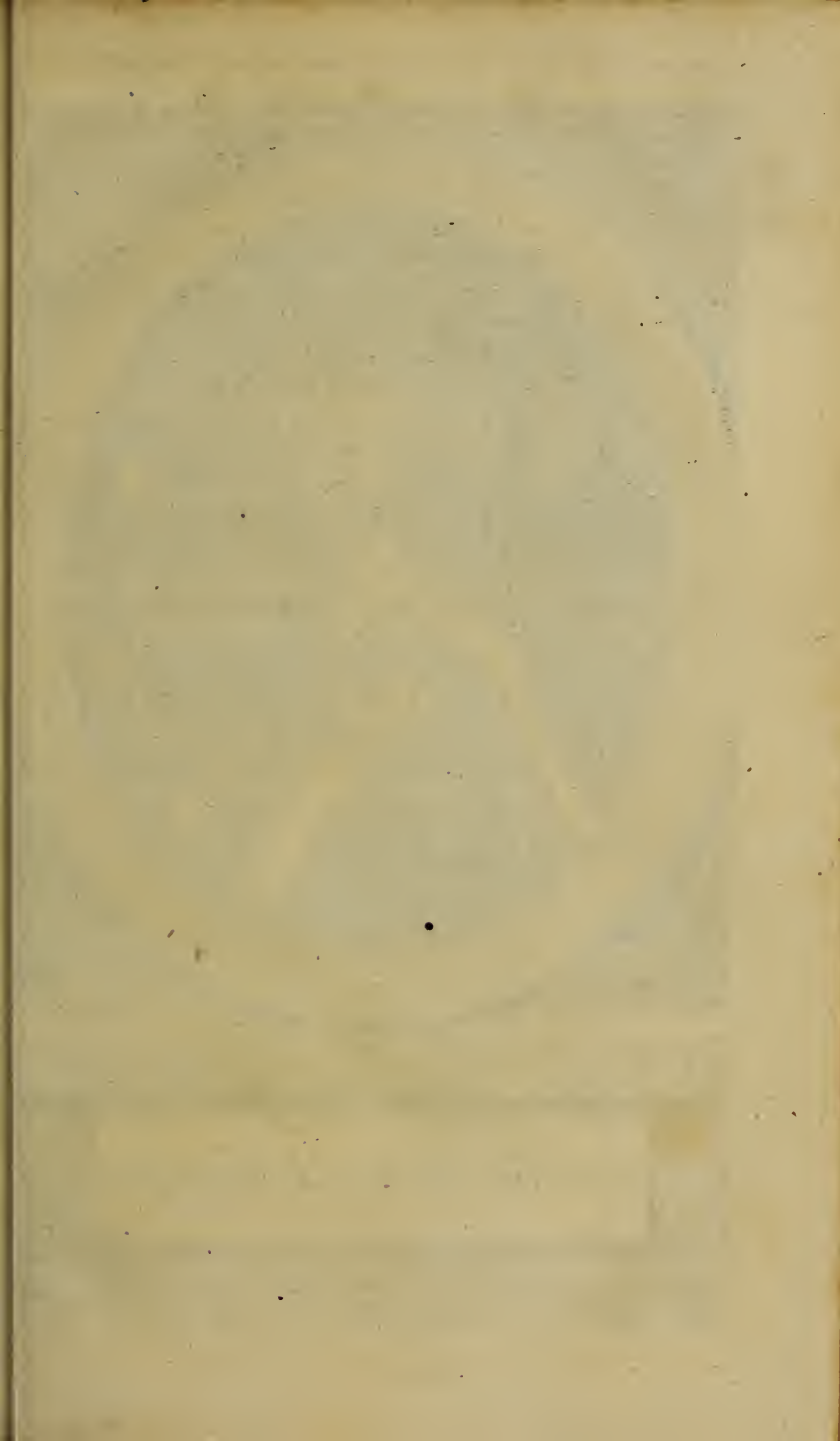
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\* Everfon.

The End of the Fifth Year.

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Major Gen. THOMAS HARRISON

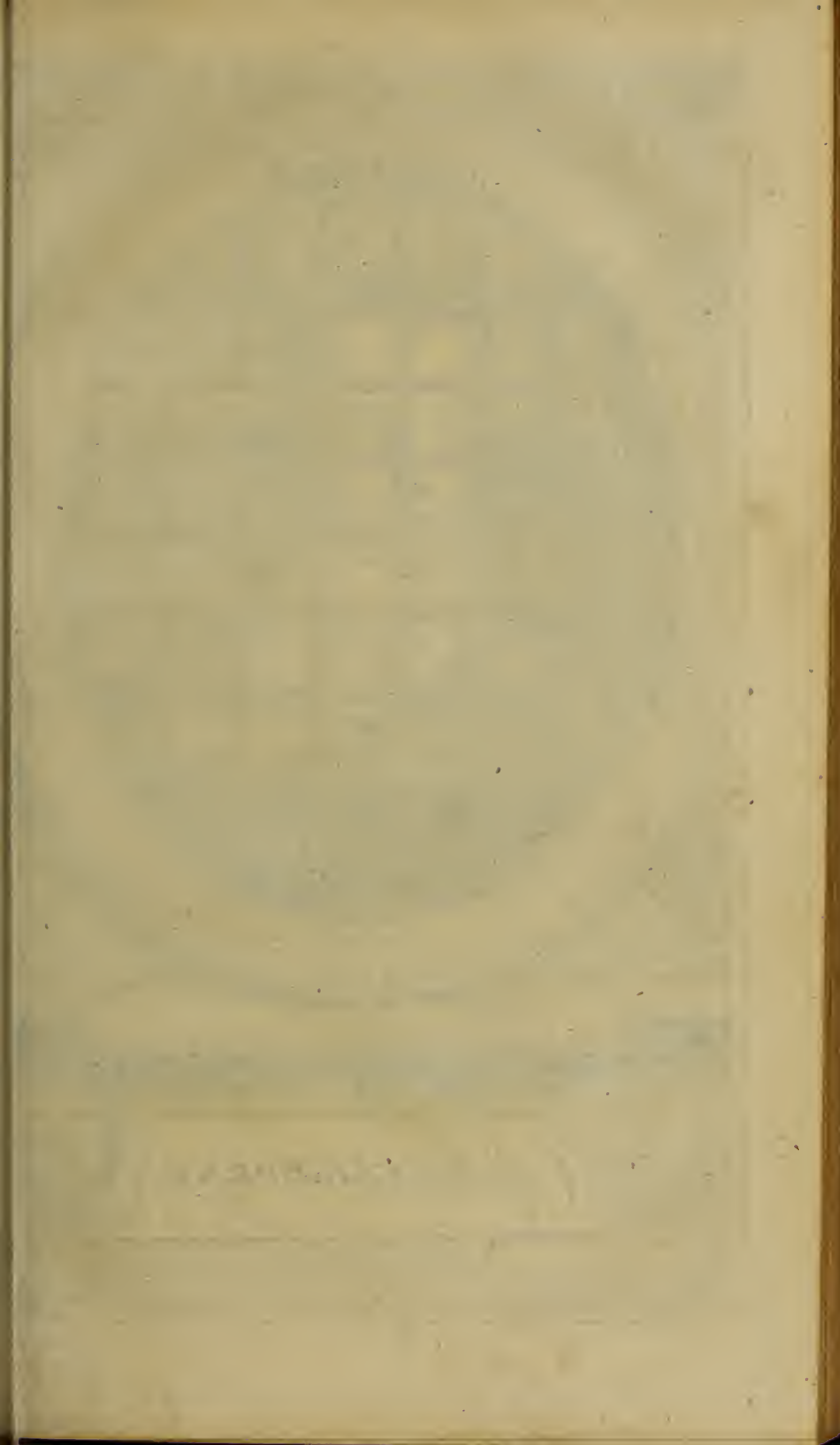
A.D.  
1653.  
42THE  
CHARACTER  
OF*Major-General* HARRISON.

Born at *Nantwich*, a *Cheshire* Butcher's Son,  
Nurs'd up in Blood and Cruelty, till grown  
A sturdy Lad, then plac'd beneath the Care,  
For some few Years, of an Attorney there:  
But when Domestick Jars and Wars began,  
Laid down the Pen and from his Master ran,  
To lend a Shoulder to the *Good-Old-Cause*,  
Against his King, Religion and the Laws;  
Till, by his daring Courage, he became,  
Thro' all the Roundhead-Host, a Man of Fame;  
Was first a Cornet, then a Captain made;  
And when the Army was new Modell'd, play'd  
His Cards with *Nol* so cunningly and well,  
That he advanc'd him to be Colonel  
Of Horse, which Post he had obtain'd before  
The Injur'd King fell into *Cromwel's* Pow'r;  
Who finding *Harrison* a stern compleat  
Fanatick Rebel, for his Purpose fit,  
Made him, in nice Affairs, his Bosom-Friend;  
And on his Conduct greatly did depend;  
Trusted the Royal Pris'ner in his Care,  
Who, in respect to Majesty, rid bare;  
Yet tho' without his Hat he thus convey'd  
The King, none wish'd him more without his Head;  
M m 2 Lodging

A.D. Lodging him safe in *Windsor*, where he lay  
1653. Till the vile Rump prepar'd the bloody way,  
By which they were resolv'd to take him off,  
And make the Name of King a publick Scoff.  
The Colonel, for his faithful Service done,  
In e'ery Branch of the Rebellion,  
Having soon after, from the Rump, a Call,  
To the High-Post of Major-General :  
Which he laid down in dudgeon, when he found  
That crafty *Cromwel* had himself enthron'd :  
Headed that wild Enthusiastick Herd,  
Who for King *Jesus* frantickly declar'd,  
And vex'd his old Imperious Friend so far,  
As to confine the Major Prisoner ;  
Who, after all the Battles he had fought,  
And wicked Wonders for Confusion wrought,  
Tho' he had help'd to slay his Sov'reign Lord,  
The Butcher liv'd to see the Son restor'd,  
And to be made, by Just and Righteous Laws,  
A *Tyburn* Martyr for the *Good-Old-Cause*.

*Justice, tho' crush'd a while by impious Throngs,  
Still rears her flaming Sword to punish Wrongs ;  
As the fierce Bull returns upon his Foes,  
And Gores the Dogs that pin'd him by the Nose.*







*M. P. Gouge sculp.*

*Coll. JOHN LILBORNE.*

A.D.  
1653.THE  
CHARACTER  
OF*Mr.* JOHN LILBURN.

**A**T first a poor Bookbinder by his Trade,  
Nurs'd up in Treason, which he daily spread,  
Till famous grown for scatt'ring thro' the Town,  
Malicious Flirts and Libels 'gainst the Crown;  
At length by the Star-Chamber-Court was Fin'd  
And punish'd, which enrag'd his Factious Mind  
So far, that he was not content alone  
To vend what others wrote against the Throne,  
But as he'd been well read in all the Lies  
And Factious Shams that Malice could devise,  
Was, by their Venom now inspir'd to write,  
And turn'd rebellious Author out of Spite,  
Temper'd much Virulence with little Sence,  
And pleas'd the Party with his Impudence;  
That by the Saints he was believ'd Inspir'd  
To do or say whate'er the Cause requir'd.

When Civil Wars broke out, the Champion then,  
For the Broad-Sword, let fall the Rebel's Pen;  
By Nature was for any Mischief fit,  
And fearless fought, as fiercely as he writ:  
At *Brentford* Fight was taken, close confin'd,  
And for exemplar Punishment design'd,



A. D. 1653. But by connivance of the Marshal made  
 Escape, and to the Rebel-Army fled,  
 Who was receiv'd as one who had defy'd  
 The threaten'd Vengeance of the Royal Side.

*Cromwel*, to whose Advantage he had sown,  
 By his vile Pamphlets, much Sedition,  
 The useful Tool familiarly caress'd,  
 And wondrous Friendship to the Knave profess'd;  
 But tho' he was an Officer of Note,  
 Desir'd his stay in *London*, where he thought  
 His Notions in Religion, which were beat  
 Against the *Presbyterian* Government,  
 Might, if improv'd by Scribling, serve the Ends  
 Of climbing *Cromwel* and his Army Friends,  
 And therefore wanted *Lilburn's* busy Crown,  
 To broach and cultivate his Whims in Town;  
 Who, as Old *Nol* expected, could not rest,  
 But soon let fly the Scruples of his Breast,  
 Against the Rump, till he, at length, was sent  
 To Prison by the angry Parliament,  
 Who were, by *Cromwel's* Letter to the House,  
 So aw'd, that they were forc'd to let him loose;  
 Yet he continu'd daily to arraign  
 The Rump's Proceedings with a daring Pen.  
 But *Nol* no sooner had dissolv'd his Lords,  
 And bully'd them with proud imperious Words,  
 Usurp'd the Pow'r, and made himself the great  
*Goliath* of the sick distracted State,  
 But restless *Lilburn* thought him worthy then  
 Of being made the subject of his Spleen,  
 And now he had ingross'd the Sov'reign Pow'r,  
 Prov'd more his En'my than his Friend before,  
 Exposing all his Crimes in such a Style  
 As render'd him so infamously vile,

That



That *Nol* foresaw, unless he took him off  
 The Stage, he ne'er shou'd easy be or safe ;  
 Therefore to stop his Insolence took care  
 To have him seiz'd, and brought him to the Bar,  
 Charg'd him with Treason, but the Culprit made  
 So smart and strenuous a Defence that sway'd  
 The Jury, and prevail'd with them to strain  
 A Point to save him, tho' the Proof was plain.  
 Thus *Lilburn* over *Cromwel* got the Day,  
 In spite of all the Bench could do or say ;  
 Which the Protector thought a worse Defeat  
 Than in the Field of *Mars* he ever met,  
 Tho' he took care to keep him close in Jayl,  
 Till he himself from all his Greatness fell.

A. D.  
 1653.  


*Thus the aspiring Villain gains his Ends,  
 By busy restless Tools and daring Friends:  
 But when they've rais'd the Tyrant to a Throne,  
 It is his Safety then to tread 'em down.*

A.D.

1654.



The most

## Remarkable Transactions

Of the Sixth Year of the Reign of

King CHARLES the Second.

*Anno Dom. 1654.*

**M**Onk having humbl'd *Holland's* stubborn Pride,  
 Who on their Naval Strength too much rely'd,  
 They now were forc'd to condescend so far,  
 As to to pay *England's* Charges of the War,  
 And glad, when they in vain had try'd their Arms,  
 To purchase Peace upon the Victor's Terms.  
 The Articles whereof were forthwith Sign'd \*,  
 And both the Foes in mutual Friendship join'd,  
 Which the two Nations did alike proclaim  
 With Joy, in *London* and in *Amsterdam* †,  
 Much to the Comfort of those Trading Towns,  
 Where Peace with *Wealth* th'industrious Merchant crowns.

From *Madrid* an Embassador was sent,  
 To welcome *Nol* to his new Government :  
 Another from the *Portuguese* came o'er,  
 To humbly sue for Peace and own his Pow'r.  
*France*, as a Colleague, sent a Minister ||  
 To their old Agent then residing here,

\* April the 5th.

|| The Baron of Baas.

† April the 16th.

And

And caus'd his two Embassadors, to own  
The Rebel's Right who had usurp'd the Throne :  
Nor was he of his State a little proud,  
When thus his Neighbours to his Greatness bow'd,  
And paid him all those Honours, to their Shame,  
That one Crown'd Head could from another claim.  
Hence he concluded that no sudden Blow,  
From Foreign Parts, could work his Overthrow ;  
At Home foresaw no Danger worth his Fears,  
But some Commotion of the Cavaliers ;  
To prevent which the crafty Tyrant made  
A Plot, which was with so much Cunning laid,  
That Six were drawn into the fatal Snare,  
Two of which number executed were \* ,  
A third condemn'd for the same Crime was thought  
Worthy of Mercy, 'cause he own'd the Plot † ,  
And gave thereby some Credit to the Grand  
Design the Loyal Party had in hand ;  
Tho' most believ'd 'twas but a Trick of Nol's,  
To awe his Foes and please obeying Fools.

*Rebels who, by ill Arts, to Empire rise,  
Must be beholding to Conspiracies ;  
For Plots of State well laid and roundly prov'd,  
Make them at once both dreaded and belov'd.*

On the same Day that Gerard lost his Head,  
The same keen Axe struck Pantalion || dead,  
Who in a Riot on th' Exchange had slain  
One Greenway, an offenceless Gentleman ;  
A Pardon for which Murder was deny'd  
By Nol, when many for the same apply'd ;

\* Colonel John Gerard, Beheaded, and Peter Vowel Hang'd in July.

† Somerset Fox.

‡ Brother to the Portuguese Ambassador:

A.D. Tho' he himself had waded thro' a Flood  
 1654. Of Royal, Innocent, and Loyal Blood,  
 Yet was too Just to stain his Ill-got Pow'r,  
 By rescuing a barb'rous Murderer.

*So Masters oft will punish in their Men,  
 Those very Vices which themselves retain;  
 And the Licentious Justice be severe  
 With him that Swears, perhaps, but once a Year.*

The Exil'd King did hitherto remain  
 In France to mediate Peace 'twixt them and Spain,  
 Hoping, if that good Office could be done,  
 They would assist him to regain his Throne;  
 But *Mazarine* thought proper to withstand  
 The Treaty, and delay'd the Work in hand,  
 Which gave the King much Trouble, that he left  
 The Gallick Court, resolving now to shift  
 Among the German Princes, till he gain'd  
 Some kind compassionate and pow'rful Friend,  
 That would enabl'im to return and fight  
 The Rebel who withheld his lawful Right.  
 The King, pursuant to his purpose, made  
 His Progress to *Chatillon* \*, where he staid  
 Some Days till he and *Rupert* had agreed  
 Upon the Place to which they should proceed,  
 And being both upon the *Spaw* intent,  
 Thither the banish'd Friends in private went;  
 Where, from the *Hague*, the Beauteous Princely Dame  
 Of *Orange* to her Royal Brother came,  
 And, after she some Months had kindly mourn'd  
 Her Brother's Sufferings, to her Court return'd:  
 The King attending to the famous Town  
 Of *Cologne*, where such high Respect was shown

---

\* A House of the Prince of Conde.



To both the Princes, that the Guns were fir'd,  
 The Burghers in their pompous Robes attir'd,  
 And such a Welcome giv'n that scarce before  
 Was ever made for King or Emperor ;  
 As if that Kind and Gen'rous City meant  
 To comfort up the Wrong'd and Innocent.  
 From thence they mov'd to *Bedinguen*, and there  
 The Royal Brother left the Princely Fair,  
 To varnish Beauty with a parting Tear.

A.D.

1654.

W.

The Duke of *York* did still in *France* remain  
 Lieutenant-Gen'ral under Great *Turenne*,  
 Continuing that Station for a time,  
 After the *French* were guilty of the Crime  
 Of making Peace with the Usurper here,  
 Less out of Interest than shameful Fear.

*But Princes, when they're aw'd, like private Men,  
 Will Honour oft for present Safety stain,  
 Shake Hands with Rebels, who have Kings o'erthrown,  
 Forgetting the same Fate may prove their own.*

*Cromwel's* old Army, having now prevail'd  
 In *Ireland*, and the Native *Irish* quell'd,  
 Made their own Markets of their Foes they'd beat,  
 And took Submissions as themselves thought fit ;  
 To *Spain*, as 'twas agreed, transported some,  
 Who chose to wander from their Native Home,  
 Much rather than to live beneath the Force  
 And Insults of their cruel Conquerors ;  
 A new High-Court of Justice also rais'd,  
 Where they Condemn'd and Butcher'd whom they pleas'd ;  
 Tho' 'tis confess'd they did but justly deal  
 By one Sir *Phelim*, Knight, surnam'd *Oneal*,  
 A bold *Hibernian*, who had first begun  
 Against the King the *Scotch* Rebellion,

Him

A.D. Him the Court sentenc'd to a Traytor's Fate,  
 1654. Wh' accordingly was punish'd near the Gate  
 Of the Lord *Canfield's* House, where he had been  
 A cruel Actor in a bloody Scene,  
 And caus'd the worthy Father of that Peer  
 To fall a Victim to his Murderer.

*Who then in Pow'r would be severe with those  
 That stoop beneath their Mercy, tho' they're Foes,  
 Since sudden Chance so often turns the Tide,  
 And gives the Barb'rous up to be destroy'd  
 By those they once made Vassals to their Pride.*

*Ireland* b'ing now from Insurrections free,  
 And *Harry* \* made his Father's Deputy,  
 To keep back *Lambert* from that distant Post,  
 Whom *Nol* was jealous of and fear'd to trust;  
 No more Alarms could give Disturbance there,  
 Where all things look'd so promising and fair:  
 But as Usurpers Reigns are seldom free  
 From Storms that ruffle their Tranquility,  
 No sooner were the *Irish* Thorns cut down,  
 But *Scotland* was with Brambles over-run;  
 For many of the Lords and Gentry there,  
 Had rais'd new Force and stood prepar'd for War;  
 But *Morgan* † meeting with their Highland Host,  
 Consisting of Four-thousand *Scots* at most,  
 And those ill Arm'd, attack'd 'em with Success,  
 At *Cromar*, drove 'em into great Distress,  
 And in the sharp Dispute was very near  
 Taking their Gen'ral, *Glencarn*, Prisoner:  
 However, tho' the Highland Army fled  
 Dispers'd, they were not so dispirited,

\* Cromwel.

† Colonel.

But they resum'd the Courage to rejoin,  
And would not for one Blow the Field decline,  
Waiting some time till *Middleton* came o'er  
With promis'd Aid from the *Batavian* Shore;  
But when he did his Foreign Forces Land,  
Himself commission'd to have Chief Command;  
*Glencarn*, who thought he'd Title to that Post,  
Withdrew, and with him numbers of his Host;  
So that the Succours which the King had sent,  
Instead of adding Strength, rais'd Discontent,  
And made the *Scots* more weak and disinclin'd,  
To cordially espouse the Troops they'd join'd.

A. D.

1654.



In these Disorders *Monk* by *Nol* was chose  
Chief Gen'ral to chastise his Northern Foes,  
Who coming with an able Army down  
Upon the *Scots* new Gen'ral *Middleton*,  
Gave Him, *Monroe* and *Loughb'ry* such a Blow \*  
That prov'd at once their total Overthrow,  
And cow'd 'em so that *Scotland* soon appear'd  
Too tame and calm, like *Ireland*, to be fear'd;  
For now their Kirk her mighty Empire lost,  
And could no more Divine Assemblies boast,  
Tho' *Cromwel* was prevail'd with, by degrees,  
T'allow their keeping up Presbyteries;  
But so restrain'd from what they were before,  
That they lost much of their Religious Pow'r,  
Were all so aw'd by *Morgan's English* Troops,  
And *Cottrel's*, that the Kirk had little hopes  
To effect any thing that could degrade  
The Tyrant whom their Villanies had made;  
That *Cromwel* now had little else to do,  
Than on his Six new *Flanders* Mares to shew

\* July the 20th.



A. D. His Art of Government ; but spight of all  
 1654. His Care they gave the Rebel such a Fall  
 ~~~~~ From the high Coach-Box he had made his Throne,  
 That he had like to've far'd like *Phaeton* :  
 From whence the *English* Slaves, who did obey  
 The Tyrant, had sufficient Cause to say,  
 That Foreign Brutes were wiser far than they.

According to the Instrument or Scroll  
 Of Government which the Protector *Nol*  
 Had Sign'd and Swore to, when the Saints of late  
 Install'd him in his wooden Chair of State,  
 A Parliament conven'd \*, whose Members knew  
 How *Cromwel* had out-trick'd the former two,  
 Therefore the major Part resolv'd to make  
 The tott'ring Fabrick of his Greatness shake,  
 Or let, at least, the Rebel-Upstart see  
 They were not aw'd by his Authority ;  
 Accordingly enquir'd, who call'd 'em there ?  
 What Lawful Pow'r had made 'em what they were ?  
 But *Cromwel*, full as Resolute as they,  
 Soon flung a stumbling Edict in their way,  
 Whereby such Members as would not consent  
 T'a Recognition of his Government,  
 Were stil'd *Malignants*, and debar'd the House,  
 As Persons whose Designs were dangerous ;  
 Which Oath such Numbers of the Godly scar'd,  
 That of Four-hundred who at first appear'd,  
 Scarce half comply'd at present, tho' at length  
 Some tender Consciences acquir'd such strength,  
 That many more submitted, till the whole  
 Made up about Three-hundred by the Poll ;  
 Yet this acknowledgment, by Oath enjoin'd,  
 Had not so tam'd the Saints to *Cromwel's* Mind,

\* September the 3d.



But they had Courage to proceed upon  
 Each Article o'th' Recognition ;  
 And made such Work, that they'd no sooner spent  
 Their Five Months limited by th' Instrument,  
 But *Nol* was in his Speech so bold and free  
 To charge a part of 'em with Treachery,  
 And then, to shew his Enemies how much  
 He valu'd them, dissolv'd 'em with Reproach.

A. D.

1654.

No sooner was this Parliament dismiss'd \*,  
 But Major *Wildman* by the State was seiz'd,  
 For spreading Declarations to prepare  
 The People for a new Domestick War,  
 Proving 'twas lawful to subdue the Pride  
 Of *Cromwel*, and Neccessitous beside.

A second Plot was also charg'd upon  
 The poor Malignants, such as lov'd the Crown,  
 And two of their Chief Leaders † haul'd before  
 The Council, and committed to the *Tow'r*:  
 Nor was this New Design without some Ground ;  
 For all the Loyal Peers and Gentry round  
 The Kingdom jointly had agreed to rise,  
 And bid Defiance to their Enemies,  
 Having the King's Commission to proceed  
 In this Affair, and warrant what they did ;  
 But *Manning*, a deceitful fawning Spark,  
 Made, for his Loyal Father's || sake, a Clerk  
 To the King's Secretary, had betray'd  
 The whole Design to *Thurloe* ‡, how 'twas laid,

---

\* Two Days after.

† Sir John Packington and Sir Henry Littleton.

|| Colonel Manning.

‡ Oliver's Secretary, with whom he held a Correspondence.

A. D. The time appointed to begin the Scene,  
 1654. And who in *England* were to Act therein,  
 W That what Attempts they made were all in vain,  
 And only serv'd t'establish *Cromwel's* Reign;  
 For tho' in sundry Counties some appear'd  
 In Arms, yet many Gentry were deter'd,  
 Because they knew the Project must be blown,  
 By seizing *Packington* and *Littleton*:  
 Nor did the Royal Party meet Success,  
 Or make one prosp'rous Step in any place,  
*Cromwel* had taken such industrious Care  
 To crush 'em or disperse 'em e'ery where.  
 Loyal Sir *Thomas Harris* being brought  
 From *Shrewsbury* Pris'ner, taken in the Plot.

Nor did that Villain *Manning*, who betray'd  
 The Secret for the sake of being paid,  
 Escape an Execution justly due,  
 For Treach'ry to his Prince and Country too:  
 Nor was he only false in this alone,  
 But had contracted for a Pension,  
 To Weekly give Intelligence of all  
 The King's Affairs to *Cromwel* at *Whitehall*;  
 But was, at length, surpris'd by Col'nel *Tuke*,  
 Who, for some Reasons of Suspicion, broke  
 His Chamber-Door, and found the Youth intent  
 Upon an Answer to a Pacquet sent  
 From *Thurloe*; for which treasonable Act,  
 Having no room t'extenuate the Fact,  
 He was Condemn'd, to Execution brought,  
 And, at the Court's Request, unpity'd Shot\*.

---

\* At one of the Duke of Newburgh's Castles.

A.D.  
1653.  
W

*Who but a Judas would betray his Trust,  
And to the Prince that feeds him be Unjust,  
Since every Man must know that Heaven sees  
His Treach'ry through his best Obscurities;  
And, if not here, hereafter will repay  
His daring Treasons in a dreadful way.*

The End of the Sixth Year, concluding with  
the Death of that Learned Antiquary  
Mr. Selden.

N n

THE

A.D.  
1654.  
5

# OLIVER CROMWEL's CHARACTER.

**D**Escended, as some Writers do agree,  
By Father's Side, of a *Welch* Family, *sol*  
*Williams* by Name\*, who in the Times of *Yore*,  
When the Eighth *Henry* held the Sov'reign Pow'r,  
Marry'd the Only Daughter of that fam'd  
And trusty *Cromwel*, to the Block condemn'd,  
Who being kind and gen'rous e're he dy'd,  
To him who'd made the darling Fair his Bride,  
The grateful Son-in-law, to please his Dame,  
Declin'd his own, and took her Maiden Name;  
From whose Embrace, in after Ages, sprung  
That Tyrant who reveng'd her Father's Wrong,  
And rent that Throne afunder which had been  
The bane of divers Lords and many a Queen:  
Nor could the sinful'st Nation e'er produce  
A Man so Wicked, yet so prosperous;  
As if all Powers join'd t'inspire his Heart,  
And Heav'n and Hell at once both took his Part;  
For ne'er was found, since *Adam's* Reign began,  
So strange a Mixture in one daring Man,  
Bold as a Lyon, pious as a Saint,  
Would still Rebel, yet seemingly repent;  
And seldom drew his base unlawful Sword  
To smite the Church, before he fought the Lord:

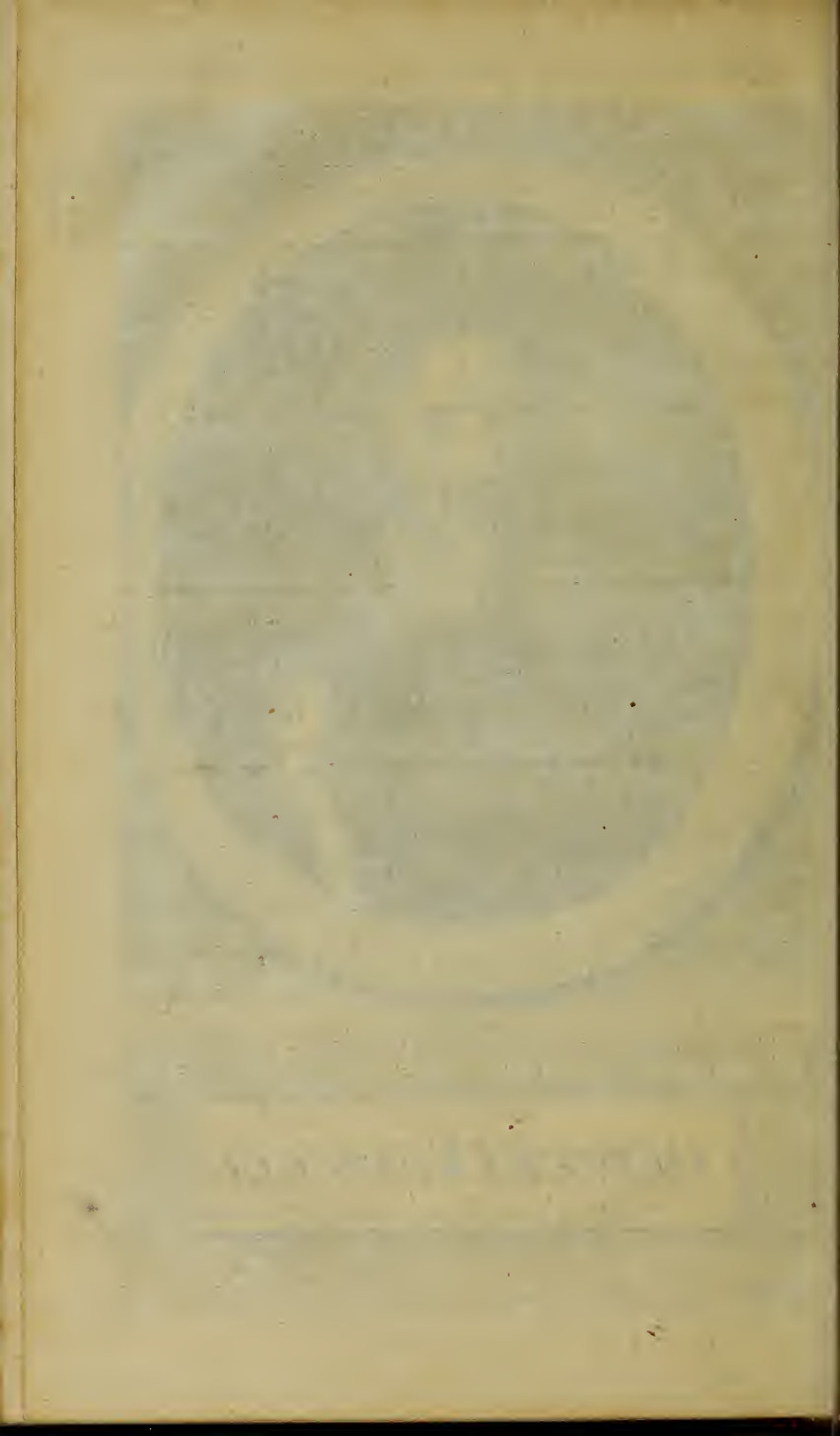
\* Of Glamorganshire.





*M. F. Gucht fecit.*

*OLIVER CROMWELL.*



A.D.  
1654.  
Lm

Was excellent at Preaching and at Pray'r,  
Yet by the Living GOD as oft would Swear,  
Bog'd at no Wickedness to serve his Pride,  
But both the Laws of GOD and Man defy'd;  
And to reform Religion by the Edge  
O'th' Sword, encourag'd Murder, Sacrilege,  
And all the Ills that the Infernal Race  
Could Broach in the Disguise of Faith and Grace;  
Yet when by all the vile deceitful Means,  
Blood, Treach'ry, and the worst of Tragick Scenes  
He'd gain'd his Ends, he manag'd with such Art,  
That none could better Act a Tyrant's Part:  
Made all the Nations round him dread his Sword,  
And tremble when he spoke a threat'ning Word;  
So greatly aw'd 'em that they own'd his Pow'r,  
Each sending over their Embassador;  
Some to beg Peace on such submissive Terms,  
As shew'd the distant Terror of his Arms;  
Others to court his Friendship and his Aid,  
That by his Smiles they might be safer made.

*Thus Europe, tho' she frowningly abhor'd  
His Actions, shiver'd when he touch'd his Sword,  
And looking back on Wonders he had done,  
Grew chill with fear she should be quite o'errun.  
Which shews that when the Martyr kiss'd the Block,  
The neighb'ring Monarchs felt the dreadful Shock.*

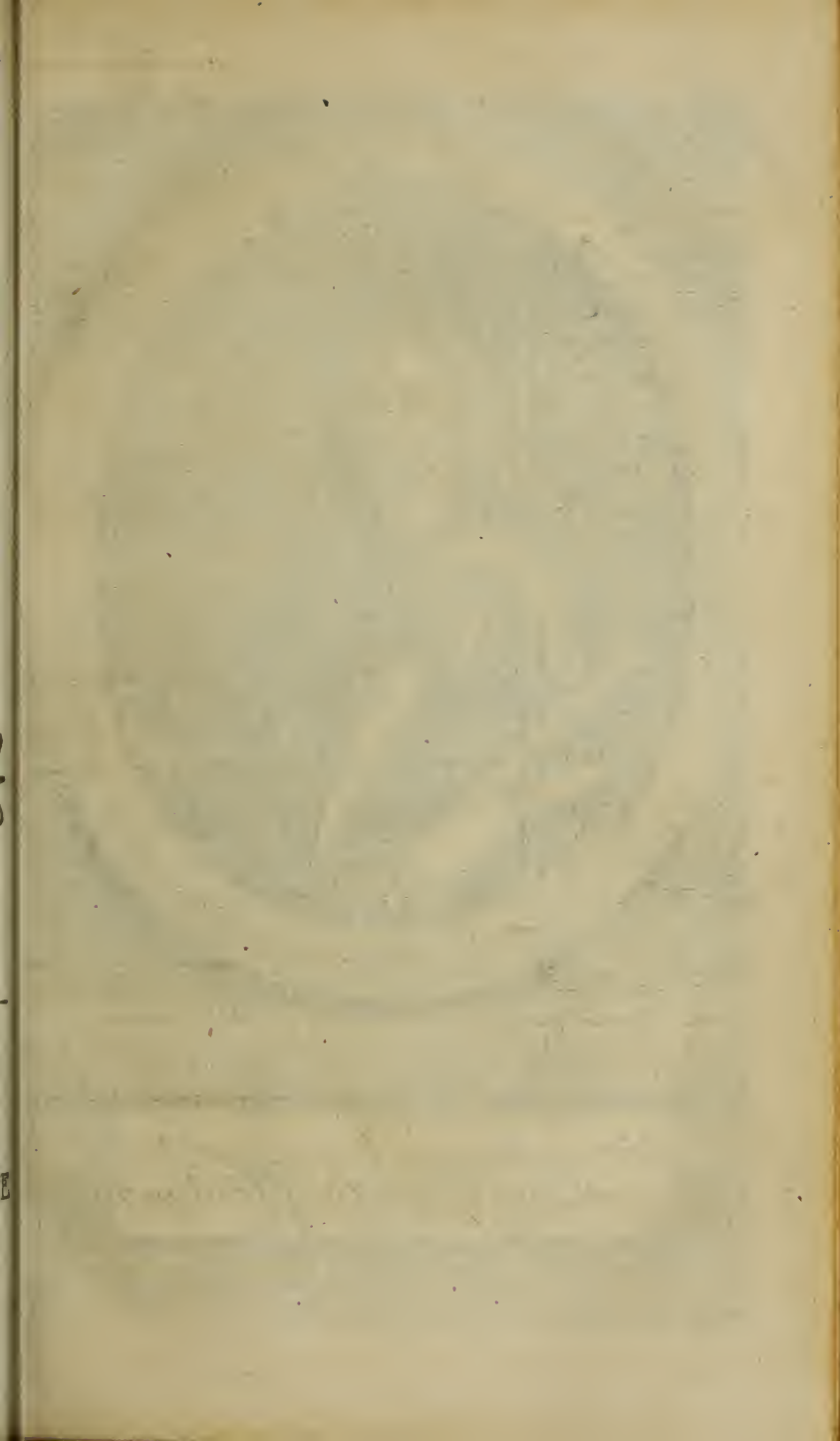
At home, tho' look'd on with an envious Eye,  
By even those who'd rais'd him up so high,  
And so surrounded by invet'rate Foes,  
That to their own Destruction oft arose;  
Yet, by his Craft he baffl'd their Designs,  
And blew up all their Plots by Countermines.  
Nor was his Conduct so extreamly foul,  
Or wide of others who'd enjoy'd the Rule,



A.D. But that some Persons who condemn'd his Ways,  
1654. Would mix his odious Infamy with Praise,

W And modestly allow, altho' he trod  
The Paths of Hell, and waded deep in Blood,  
That he perform'd such mighty things, that none  
But a brave wicked Rebel could have done :  
And therefore tho' he boldly cut his Way  
Thro' Blood and Treason to the Sov'reign Sway,  
He justly claims the Wreath from all before,  
Or since, that e'er usurp'd the Regal Pow'r.  
And as his Life was wondrous, so his last  
Expiring Breath became a stormy Blast,  
That blew down Turrets, tore up sturdy Trees,  
Rent Ships asunder, and enrag'd the Seas :  
As if Rebellious *Lucifer*, with all  
His Troops that shar'd in his Eternal Fall,  
Mounted on Whirlwinds, were in Triumph come,  
To guard him safe to his Infernal Home,  
Lest his proud Spirit in its Flight should force  
The Springs of Nature, stop the Spheric Course,  
And trait'rously unlink the Universe. }







*from an Original Painting.*

*M.F. de Guiche sculp.*

*HENRY IRETON Comissary Gen.  
and Lord Deputy of Ireland.*

A.D.

1654.



THE  
CHARACTER  
OF  
IRETON.

A Scholar bred, but too much Time had spent  
In Books against Monarchick Government;  
From whence he'd arm'd his *Mind & Tongue* with *Stings*  
So venomous against the Pow'r of Kings,  
And in his Breast establish'd such a great  
Opinion of a free Republick State,  
That nothing could his Prejudice remove,  
Or from a Commonwealth withdraw his Love.  
Some Progress in the Laws he'd also made,  
And what was best for his ill Purpose read;  
Was of a Temper much reserv'd, and hung  
A silent Padlock on his wary Tongue,  
Which seldom he remov'd, and when he did  
Took special Care to keep the Motive hid:  
Nor was his Father *Cromwel* curs'd or bless'd  
With greater Cunning than the Son possess'd;  
Which useful Vertues rais'd the Worthy high  
In *Nol's* Esteem, who did at length comply  
To Hon'r 'im with his Daughter for a Bride,  
That true-bred Rebels might be multiply'd,  
Found him a Man according to his Heart,  
In Treason vers'd, in Mischief so expert,

N n 3

That



A.D. 1654. That he rely'd upon him more than all  
His other Counsellors, when General ;  
And e're he climb'd into the Regal Seat,  
Did *Ireland* to his Management submit,  
And left him to compleat that cruel Scene,  
In which himself so barbarous had been ;  
But e're the Son, pursuant to his Will,  
Had lavish'd all that Blood he meant to spill,  
The Plague at *Lim'rick* stop'd the Rebel's Breath,  
And sacrific'd his Corps to grinning Death.

*'Tis strange, that Man, if he believes a God,  
Should swim to Pow'r thro' Seas of Christian Blood ;  
But vile Ambition no Compassion knows,  
The more she kills the fiercer still she grows,  
And were it not for Sickness and the Grave,  
One half she'd Murder and the rest Enslave.*



A.D.  
1655.

The most  
Remarkable Transactions

Of the Seventh Year of the Reign of

King CHARLES the Second,

Anno Dom. 1655.

**T**He *English* Fleet, which had before subdu'd  
*Barbadoes* to *Rebellious* Servitude,  
 And were from thence conducted, by the Care  
 Of *Ascue*, home, in the *Batavian* War,  
 Were now sent back, and by Command of *Nol*,  
 Sail'd from *Barbadoes* to *Hispaniol*,  
 To Plunder *St. Domingo*, which was thought,  
 In all the *Spanish* Isles the richest Spot;  
 But *Venables*, the Gen'ral of the Fleet,  
 Relying on his Wife's superior Wit,  
 Whom the wise Chief had brought on Board, as one  
 Most useful in the Expedition,  
 Happen'd to Land his Men, through her Mistake,  
 Too far from the Rich Town they meant to Sack,  
 That tho' the *English* were Ten-thousand strong,  
 Their distance was so great and March so long,  
 That the *Domingo Spaniards*, who had fled  
 When first they saw the Fleet, now made a-head,  
 And taking Courage, tho' they were but few,  
 Compel'd their Foes to bid the Isle adieu,

A. D. Saving their Wealth, which they had surely lost,  
 1655. If tim'rous Woman had not rul'd the roaft.

When disappointed thus they steer'd their Course  
 More Westward, and descended with their Force  
 Upon *Jamaica*, and possess'd that Place,  
 By cruel Means too bloody to express.

*But claims of Nations, and the Rights of Kings,  
 Too often flow from sanguinary Springs.*

The Western Royal Party now arose,  
 In order to defy their Rebel Foes;  
 But *Cromwel*, who was always well prepar'd,  
 By cunning Spies, to stand upon his Guard,  
 Soon quench'd the Flame, and turn'd their good Intent  
 Toth' Int'rest of himself and Government,  
 By taking Men of Note, secur'd his Ease,  
 And fill'd his Prisons with his Enemies,  
 Deliv'ring up such Persons to his Court  
 Of Justice, as he thought could do him hurt.  
*Penruddock*, tho' he'd Arricld before,  
 Surrender'd, was condemn'd at *Exeter*,  
 With Captain *Grove*, submitted to the Stroke  
 Of Fate, and perish'd by the Axe and Block.  
 Thus did they cut off those who had the best  
 Estates, and made their Markets of the rest.

*Nol* disappointed of the mighty Sum  
 Of Gold he hop'd his Navy would bring home  
 From *St. Domingo*, now resolv'd to fleece,  
 By a new Stratagem the Royalists,  
 And, without Act of Parliament, extort  
 A Tenth of their Estates tow'rds his Support;  
 And that the Money might with greater ease  
 Be forc'd from his unwilling Enemies,

Into Eleven Parts he did divide  
 The Land, o'er each appointing to preside,  
 A Major-Gen'ral, trusted with the Care  
 Of Ent'ring all who Disaffected were  
 Upon a List, what Value their Estates,  
 That they from thence might make a Book of Rates,  
 By which the Cavaliers, or such as they  
 Thought fit to style so, were oblig'd to pay.

A.D.  
 1655.

W

*But had a needy Lawful Monarch done  
 The like, what Clamours would have storm'd the Throne!  
 Or had King CHARLES the First oppress'd the Saints  
 With such a Hardship, in his greatest Wants,  
 How then would they have griev'd at Sov'reign Pow'r,  
 Who'd rail'd so much at Ship-money before.  
 But as lewd Husbands wrong their Wives to please  
 And gratify their craving Mistresses,  
 So Rebels rob their King for want of Grace,  
 To raise some bold Usurper in his Place.*

Besides the mighty Sums that Cromwel got  
 By th' Decimation which he put on Foot,  
 His Major-Gen'rals aw'd and so oppress'd  
 The sev'ral Districts where the Wolves were plac'd,  
 That they enrich'd themselves as well as him  
 Who made them Agents in this Stratagem;  
 Suspecting whom they pleas'd, and plund'ring all  
 That were not zealous for Protector Noll,  
 Altho' they liv'd in Peace to save their Gold,  
 And did a Candle to the Devil hold:  
 But bare Suspicion was, alas, enough,  
 If Rich, there was no need of further Proof,  
 Their Money was a Capital Offence,  
 And their Estates sufficient Evidence:  
 Cromwel, besides, by this Device became  
 Inform'd of all Mens Worth that were of Name,

And



*A.D.* And had continual Notice from his Spies,  
 1655. How Matters pass'd in noted Families;  
 By which he made himself the more secure,  
 And knew the better how to use his Pow'r.

The Fleet, in *August*, was by Gen'l *Penn*,  
 Or greatest part thereof, brought home again;  
 And not long after *Venables* return'd,  
 Scoff'd by the Vulgar, by his Betters scorn'd,  
 And for his scandalous Mismanagement  
 At *St. Domingo*, to the Tow'r was sent:  
 But *Cromwel* having Reasons to suppose,  
 His Fault from Folly, not Design, arose,  
 Took pity on the poor Uxorious Saint,  
 And soon discharg'd him from his close Restraint.

The Duke of *Glouc'ster*, as the King desir'd,  
 Left the *French* Court, and to the *Hague* retir'd;  
 From whence his Sister did in Splendor bring  
 The Royal Youth to *Cologne*, where the King  
 Resided, whilst his Brother *York* remain'd  
 In *Paris*, till forbid the *Gallick* Land;  
 For Peace'twixt *Nol* and *France* was brought to bear,  
 And an End put to that unactive War\*,  
 Upon Condition *Lewis* should exclude  
 From his Dominions all the Royal Blood  
 Of *England*, their Adherents, Friends, and those  
 Who should in any kind their Cause espouse.

By which, in Princes Courts, we plainly see,  
 That Honour's but a Tool to Policy,  
 Which as their Int'rest, Safety, or their Pride  
 Require, is taken up or laid aside.

---

\* Proclaim'd November 28.



A.D. 1655.

But that which more inclin'd the *French* to close  
 With *Cromwel*, upon Terms so scandalous,  
 Was a fresh Breach of the late Peace 'twixt *Spain*  
 And *England*, now turn'd Enemies again,  
 Friendship by Nature being then deny'd,  
 Between the Courts of *Paris* and *Madrid*;  
 Which Mortal Hatred nothing but a wild  
 Confed'rate Project could have reconcil'd.

The King, when first the Treaty was begun,  
 Foreseeing what a length the *French* would run,  
 Wisely withdrew in time, and would not stay  
 To be with base Dishonour forc'd away,  
 And, as already said, for *Glouc'ster* sent,  
 Before th' ingrateful time of Banishment;  
 But *York* remain'd, by reason of his Post,  
 Till by Command he left the *Gallick* Host,  
 Receiving also Notice from the Helm  
 Of *France*, by such a time, to quit the Realm,  
 Which the twice exil'd Duke, when he had paid  
 His parting Compliment at Court, obey'd,  
 Steering his Course for \* *Flanders*, with a Train  
 Of Loyal *English* Lords and Gentlemen,  
 That he might waste his Leisure and confer  
 With his two Brothers then residing there;  
 Whither the Banish'd Duke no sooner came,  
 But *Don of Austria*, in the *Spaniard's* Name,  
 Sent a Great Count † of *Spain*, in publick State,  
 With a kind Message to congratulate  
 His safe Arrival, also to assure,  
 Whate'er was in his Royal Master's Pow'r,

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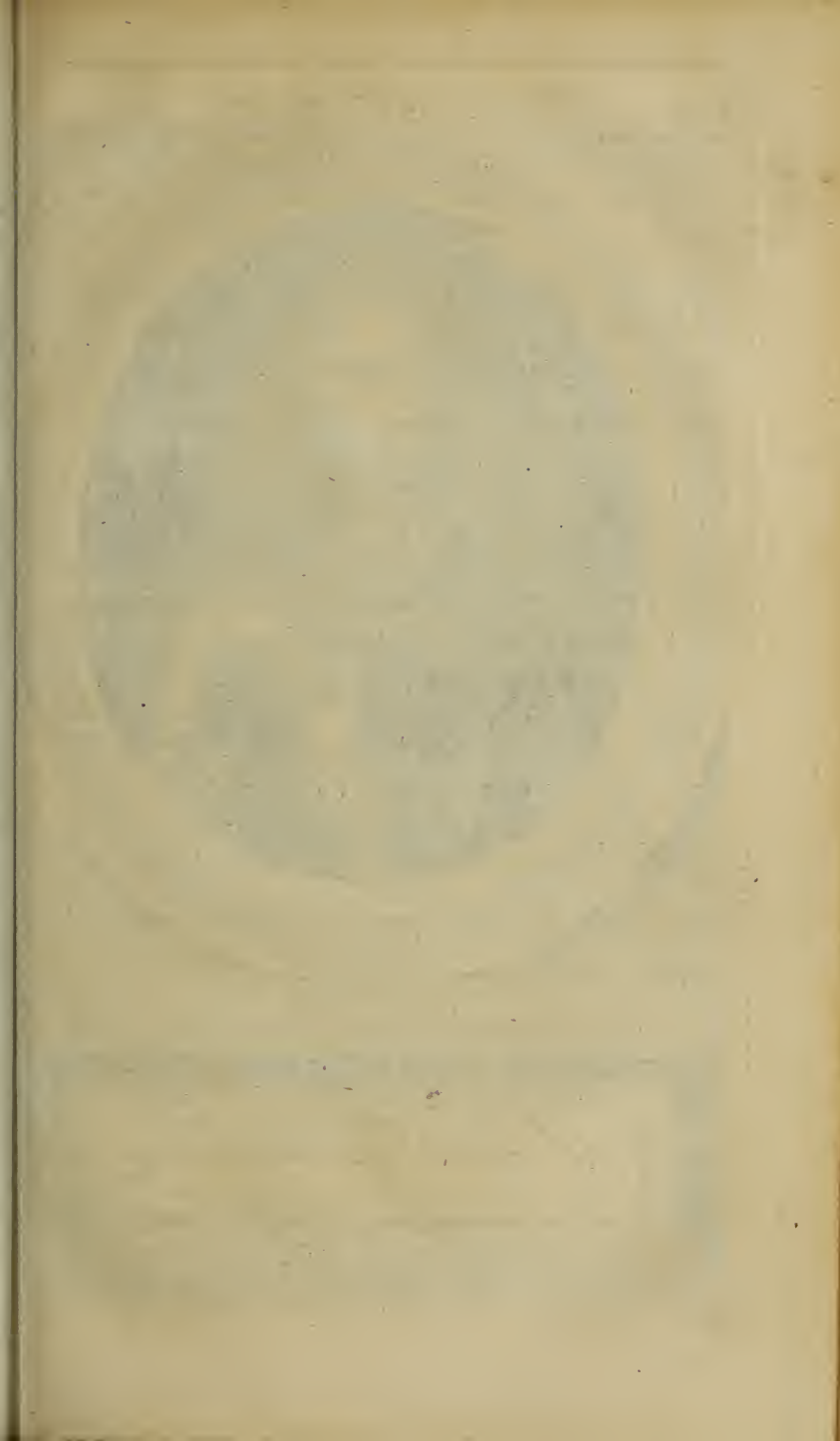
\* Spanish.

† Fuenfaldague!

*A.D.* To serve and to assist him, should be done,  
1655. Whilst he remain'd in his Dominion;  
Which Gen'rous Friendship was embrac'd with Joy,  
And cherish'd by a suitable Reply.

*Thus injur'd Princes, when they're banish'd Home,  
The special Care of Providence become,  
Which, if they're Vertuous, never fails to raise  
Some able Friend to succour'm in Distress.*

The End of the Seventh Year, concluding with  
the Death of that Most Reverend Prelate,  
Dr. *James Usher*, Archbishop of *Armagh*.





Col. John Penruddock.



A.D.

1655.



THE  
CHARACTER  
OF  
*Colonel* PENRUDDOCK.

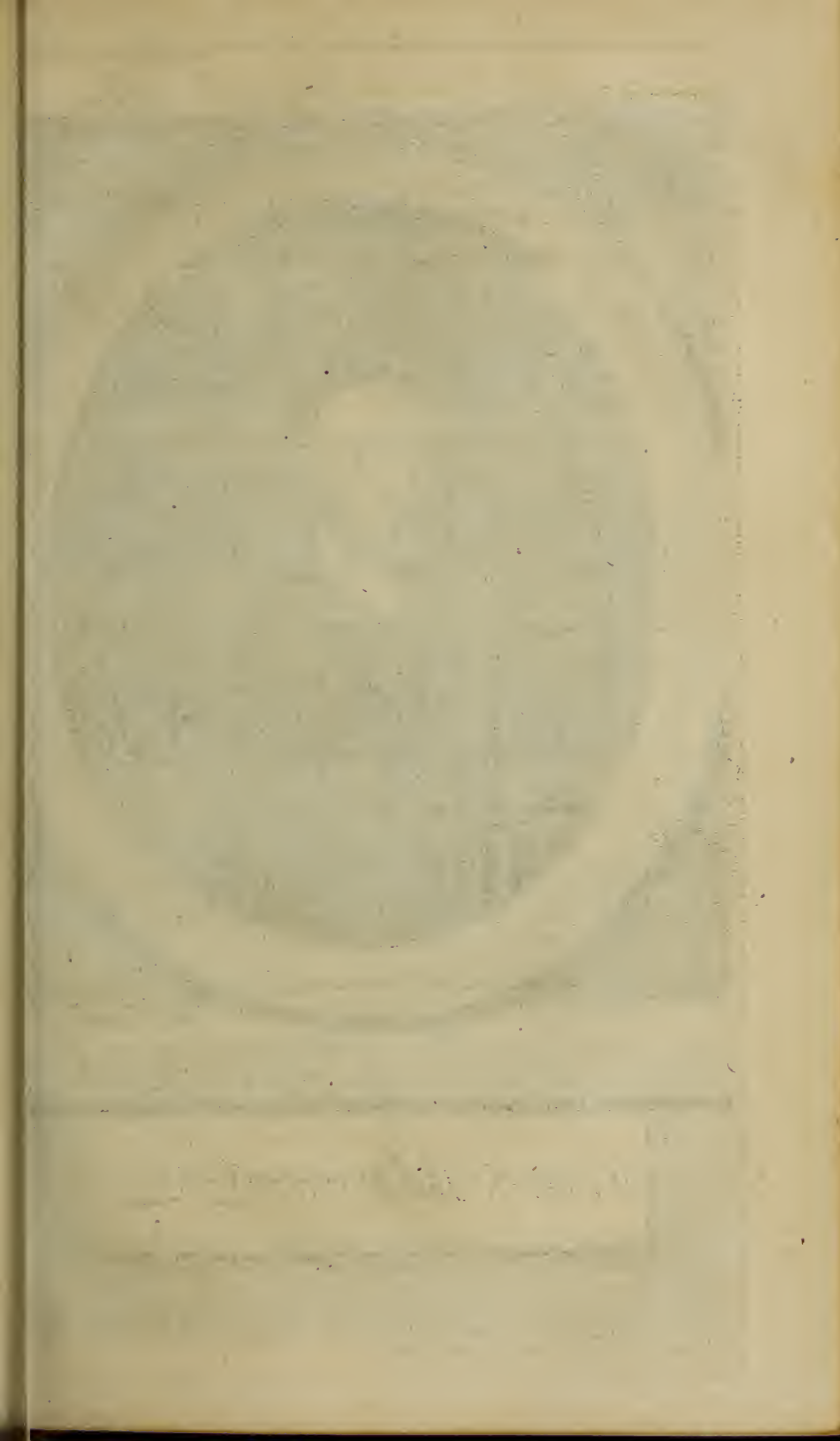
A Loyal Worthy, of a *Wiltshire* Race,  
Forward to serve his Sov'reign in Distress,  
A Man whose Parts were eminently great,  
And Master of a plentiful Estate;  
Which Worldly Comforts his Heroick Soul  
Despis'd, beneath the base Usurper's Rule.  
Whilst his wrong'd Prince was wandring up and down  
The World, divested of his Lawful Throne,  
Therefore, with others, he conspir'd the Fall  
Of the proud Tyrant and Protector *Nol*,  
Took *Salisbury*, and successfully begun  
The hopeful Project they were driving on,  
Till distant Friends not answering their Hopes,  
'And some Divisions happ'ning in their Troops,  
After one fatal Contest with their Foes,  
They were so far o'erpowr'd, that in the close  
Of the Dispute they thought it best to yield,  
On Terms for Life concerted in the Field;  
But *Cromwel*, notwithstanding, soon sent down  
Commissions to some Creatures of his own,  
To try such Leading Persons as he thought  
Had been the Chief Contrivers of the Plot;  
Among the rest whose Lot it was to fall  
A bleeding Sacrifice to angry *Nol*,

*Pen-*

A. D. Penruddock was appointed to be one  
 1655. Whose Life was to atone for what they'd done,  
 Who, tho' he made an excellent Defence,  
 So full of Law, and so adorn'd with Sence,  
 That all the list'ning crowd'd Court were charm'd,  
 To hear a Tongue with so much Reason arm'd ;  
 Yet nothing would avail that could be said,  
 No cogent Plea could save so Learn'd a Head,  
 Which, like a Christian Champion he resign'd \*,  
 Glory'ng in Death with Constancy of Mind,  
 Greatly lamented by his Friends, and all  
 That knew his Vertues and beheld his Fall.

*So di'd the Martyr'd Saints inspir'd with Zeal,  
 That they no Tortures fear'd or Flames could feel,  
 But with undaunted Courage met their Fate,  
 As if they saw Angelick Thousands wait,  
 To guard 'em safe to the Celestial Gate.*

\* At Exeter.





JOHN HEWITT. D.D.

*from a Painting in the Charter House.*



A. D.

1655.

W

THE

## CHARACTER

OF

*Dr.* JOHN HEWET.

**I**N *Norfolk* County born, at *Cambridge* bred,  
 In the best Learning of the Schools well read,  
 A sound Divine, whose pious Life comply'd  
 With all the Duties of a Christian Guide;  
 In Conversation innocently free,  
 His Wit well temper'd with Civility;  
 Which Qualities had in his Youth prefer'd  
 The Worthy Guide to serve that Noble Lord  
 The Earl of *Lindsey*, whose Esteem he gain'd  
 So far, that his good Life at length obtain'd  
 His Patron's Sister, whom he dearly lov'd;  
 Which happy Match the Earl himself approv'd,  
 Freely consenting that the Noble Maid  
 Should be the Partner of the Doctor's Bed;  
 Which Nuptial Freehold they in Peace possess'd  
 Alike, in Love and mutual Goodness bless'd,  
 Till *Cromwel* understanding by his Spies,  
 The Royal Party were design'd to rise,  
 And make one gen'ral Struggle to restore  
 Their banish'd Sov'reign to the Regal Pow'r;  
 And having notice that the Loyal Guide  
 Was in the dang'rous Enterprize employ'd,  
 And with Brave *Ormond's* Marquis, to that End,  
 A Correspondence secretly maintain'd,

Was

A.D. Was Apprehended by Command of *Nol*,  
1655. And brought before him when he bore the Rule,  
Who having no Respect for Gown or Church,  
Revil'd the Doctor as a Lighted Torch,  
Plac'd in the middle of a Sheaf of Corn,  
A Priest who did by flagrant Doctrines turn  
The City round him into Flames so great,  
That threaten'd Mischiefe to the tott'ring State ;  
Which so provok'd proud *Cromwel* that he sought  
His Life, and caus'd the Pastor to be brought  
Before his Court of Justice, where the Guide,  
At Bar, their Jurisdictione Pow'r deny'd ;  
And after he'd refus'd three times to Plead,  
Was, *pro Confesso*, forc'd to lose his Head,  
Which, like a pious Martyr, he resign'd,  
With all the symptoms of a peaceful Mind ;  
As if his Faith had truly overcome  
The Stings and Terrors of so sharp a Doom.

*So falls the Christian in a Cause that's good,  
Depending on his Saviour's precious Blood,  
Does the last Stroke of Fate unmov'd despise,  
Assur'd of Joys eternal e're he dies.*

A.D.  
1656.  
~

The most

## Remarkable Transactions

Of the Eighth Year of the Reign of

King CHARLES the Second,

*Anno Dom. 1656.*

**C***romwel*, to let the Bubbl'd Nation see  
The great Regard he had to Piety  
And Learning, did on *Usher's* Corps bestow \*,  
As he deserv'd, a costly Fun'ral Show,  
In Person did at *Westminster* attend  
His Almoner's Oration o'er his Friend ;  
Tho' had he spar'd his Presence and his Cost,  
It would have better pleas'd the Good and Just,  
Who mourn'd the Prelate's *Exit*, or at least,  
Secur'd the Mem'ry of the Saint Deceas'd,  
From the Asperision of his bowing down  
Too low to such a Tyrant, who had won  
A Throne by Murder and Rebellion.

But 'twas an Artifice that *Cromwel* us'd,  
By which the World might be so far abus'd,  
As to believe the Good Old Man inclin'd  
To favour what was hateful to his Mind ;  
For such a Bishop who so well could Write  
And Preach, must doubtless have too clear a sight

\* April the 17th.

A. D. Of Right and Wrong to favour such a Cause,  
 1656. Repugnant to Divine and Humane Laws.

Sev'n *English* Ships, near *Cadiz*, chanc'd to meet  
 The *Spanish India* Fleet, in number Eight,  
 Of which One run a-ground in *Cadiz* Bay,  
 Two more were burnt, and Three escap'd away,  
 The rest by \* *Stainer*, after they had fought  
 Some Hours, were taken and to *England* brought,  
 In which a wealthy Prize of Plate was found,  
 Amounting to Four-hundred-thousand Pound,  
 A welcome Booty to the Rebel *Nol*,  
 Whose Coffers for Supplies began to call.

This being, by the *Instrument*, a Year  
 Wherein a Parliament were to appear,  
 Accordingly His Highness Issu'd out  
 His Writs to summon the Fanatick Rout;  
 And now his Major-Gen'als play'd their Game  
 So well, that scarce a Man of Note or Name  
 Durst stand, the Towns and Counties being aw'd  
 By Force, and the Poles manag'd with such Fraud,  
 That few besides themselves, and such good Friends  
 As were dispos'd to answer *Cromwel's* Ends,  
 Could be elected, tho' their Votes were known  
 To be superior almost two to one:  
 Yet some who disapprov'd of *Cromwel's* Pow'r,  
 And had declar'd their Discontent before,  
 Made shift to be Return'd, but could not Sit,  
 Unless it should be thought by Council fit,  
 Who had reserv'd the Power † to remove  
 Such Members as they fear'd, or did not Love;

\* Captain Commodore.

† In the *Instrument of Government*.



So that the Fifth Monarchick Saints, who run  
Along with their chief Leader *Harriſon*,  
Were not allow'd to ſit, till ſome new Laws  
Were made to ſtrengthen *Cromwel* and his Cauſe.

A. D.  
1656.  
52

*What therefore ſignify'd the Peoples Voice,  
Since thoſe that Govern'd might reject their Choice.*

Upon the Day appointed \*, ſuch as were  
Allow'd to ſit, appear'd at *Weſtminſter*,  
And made a quick diſpatch, like truſty Friends,  
Of all that might conduce to *Cromwel*'s Ends.  
A Motion in the Houſe † b'ing offer'd near  
The Expiration of the preſent Year ;  
That by Petition and Advice they might  
Endeavour to perſwade their Lord to quit  
The Title of *Protector*, and to take  
Upon him that of *King*, for *England*'s ſake.  
But whether 'twas deſign'd to do him Good  
Or Miſchief is not rightly underſtood.

Another ſtrange Conſpiracy or Plot,  
Againſt the Lord Protector, now broke out,  
Carr'd on by *Toop*, who was of *Cromwel*'s Guard,  
And *Sindercomb*, an Officer caſhier'd,  
*Cecil* and *Bois*, the laſt of whom had been  
A Prieſt to an Embaſſador from *Spain*,  
Who had the Wiſdom timely to withdraw,  
And bid defiance to the Partial Law ;  
The reſt b'ing taken, two confeſs'd the Fact,  
And did the trait'rous Villain doubly act,  
By giving in their Evidence to hang  
The ſecond Perſon mention'd in the Gang ;

\* September 17.

† Bx an Alderman of London.

A.D. 1656. But rather than a publick shameful Death  
 Should be his wretch'd End he stop'd his Breath,  
 By snuffing some strong Poyson up his Head,  
 As 'twas suppos'd by those that found him dead;  
 His Corps b'ing after drag'd at Horses Tail,  
 With his Heels foremost from the *Tower* Jayl,  
 To a deep Hole beneath the Scaffold made,  
 Wherein the ghastly Spectacle was laid,  
 Pierc'd with a Stake; thus crush'd between two Fates,  
 He sav'd his Quarters from the City Gates.

*Naylor* the Quaking Saint this Year appear'd  
 At *Bristol*, wearing such a forked Beard,  
 And Head of Hair, compos'd as might agree  
 With those we in the *Volto Santon* see,  
 Affecting many Phrases which were us'd  
 By CHRIST, whose Words and Godhead he abus'd,  
 So far as to blaspheme his Holy Name,  
 By preaching up himself to be the same;  
 For which presumptuous Fact he was arraign'd  
 Before the Senate, and by them condemn'd,  
 Through *London* Streets to be severely whip'd,  
 His Ears in Pillory to be nail'd and clip'd,  
 His Tongue bor'd through, his Forehead mark'd with B  
 To signify his Guilt of Blasphemy;  
 Then sent to *Bristol*, where he broach'd his Crime,  
 And there to be well flog'd a second time:  
 When thus Corrected, to be brought again  
 To *London*, and in *Bridewel* to remain,  
 During their Pleasure who were so remis.  
 In e'ery Point of Justice but in this.

*Thus Knaves in Pow'r, who climb by wicked means,  
 Are proud to brand the Vulgar for their Sins;  
 And tho' they ne'er encourage or requite  
 Good Decds, they punish bad thro' Fear or Spite.*

The End of the Eighth Year.

THE

A.D.  
1656.

THE

## CHARACTER

OF

FLEETWOOD, *Lord-Deputy of*  
Ireland.

A Pious Saint, whose Excellence alone  
 Was loudly praying in a formal Tone;  
 By which he gain'd much Rev'rence and Applause,  
 From all th' Enthusions that espous'd the Cause.  
 When first he took up Arms he was no more  
 Than a raw Trooper under *Effex's* Pow'r,  
 Who'd neither Fortitude nor Brains whereby  
 To raise his Fortune, yet he climb'd so high,  
 By the meer dint of Sanctity, that *Nol*,  
 Before himself was made Chief General,  
 Bestow'd his Daughter on the praying Saint,  
 Whose highest Merits lay in whining Cant;  
 By which, and his exemplar Gift of Pray'r,  
 He clim'd to be a Gen'ral Officer;  
 And when his Father *Nol* had grasp'd the Throne,  
 Crush'd all his Foes, and made the Pow'r his own,  
*Fleetwood*, who was of those that Judg'd the King,  
 To his last sharp inhumane Suffering,  
 Was, over *Ludlow's* Head, to *Ireland* sent  
 As Deputy, to fix that Government,  
 Tho' none of all the Tools that *Nol* employ'd,  
 Could be for such a Post worse qualify'd;

O o 3

Yet

A. D. 1656. Yet when a Whirlwind snatch'd away the Soul  
Of his proud Father, and the Sov'reign Rule  
Devolv'd on *Richard*, to the great disgust  
Of *Lambert*, who was next to Rule the Roast,  
By *Cromwel*'s Promise, but the Army soon,  
Who rais'd the new Usurper, pull'd him down,  
And chose, upon the young Protector's Fall,  
His Brother *Fleetwood* Captain-General;  
The same b'ing done by *Lambert*'s own Consent,  
Who was himself with the next Post content,  
Meaning, 'twas thought, to make the Tool his Skreen,  
As *Fairfax* had before to *Cromwel* been.  
But Providence, in Mercy to the King,  
Did all their ill Designs to ruine bring,  
And not long after to the Throne restor'd  
The Martyr's Son, their Lawful Sov'reign Lord.

*Thus wicked Men, who think their Crimes the less,  
Or rather none, 'cause flatter'd with Success,  
Are in the Zenith of their Pomp o'erthrown,  
And by the Hand of Providence struck down.*



A.D.  
1656.  
~

THE  
CHARACTER  
OF

*Major-General* DESBOROUGH,  
*One of Cromwel's Lords.*

A Surly rough-hewn Mortal, and the Spouse |  
Of *Cromwel's* Sister, as uncouth a Blowze,  
Rais'd by his Prosp'rous Brother to be Great,  
Not only in the Army but the State;  
Yet when a Motion in the House was made,  
To place the Crown on the Protector's Head,  
Which by his own ambitious Craft was brought  
About, as most of his Associates thought,  
None more oppos'd his climbing to be King,  
Than *Desb'rough*, or could bolder Reasons bring,  
Against his taking up the Royal Stile,  
Which they'd so long been lab'ring to Revile,  
And render so obnoxious, that the Name  
Might bury'd lie beneath eternal Shame,  
Telling his Brother *Cromwel* to his Face,  
That whensoever he ventur'd to embrace  
The Crown, tho' now his Friend, he then must be  
His open and avowed Enemy;  
Which Threats being seconded by *Fleetwood*, *Vane*,  
And others who had Pow'r to vex his Reign,  
Made him refuse, as *Cæsar* did at *Rome*,  
The only Prize he lusted to assume.

A. D. 1656. Nor did Old *Desb'rough* fail, when *Nol* was gone,  
To roughly handle his succeeding Son;  
Was of the Army Faction, who cut short  
The *Puny's* Reign, and made him fly his Court,  
Taking upon themselves the Ruling Care,  
In which the Lord we treat of had his Share;  
But wanting Money to subsist their Troops,  
And having, at so ill a time, no hopes  
Of raising a Supply, the Soldiers made  
Revolts and Mutinies, because unpaid,  
And for the Rump declar'd, who now again  
Fresh Courage took, and reassum'd their Reign;  
*Desb'rough's* own Regiment all proving loose,  
Withdrew from him and sided with the House,  
That the Committee \* were oblig'd to quit  
The Pow'r Supream, and to the Rump submit.

*Thus when bad Horsemen venture to bestride  
The fiery Courser they're unskil'd to ride,  
They're soon kick'd off; so none can be secure  
In Thrones, but Princes bred to Sov'reign Pow'r.*

\* Of Safety.

A.D.  
1657.  
w

The most

## Remarkable Transactions

Of the Ninth Year of the Reign of

King CHARLES the Second.

*Anno Dom. 1657.*

THE Parliament now willing to confer  
The *Royalty* of King on *Oliver*,  
Pursuant to a Motion, as some say,  
Design'd to cut his Throat the pleasing'st way,  
Waited upon His Highness at *White-Hall*,  
With a new Scheme, which they were pleas'd to call  
*Th' Humble Petition and Advice*, wherein  
They pray'd he would be crown'd their Sovereign;  
But *Cromwel* finding that he could not bring  
The Army to consent he should be King,  
After some *Hesitations* and *Delays*,  
And sundry Answers full of *Hems* and *Ha's*,  
Was forc'd, alas, to finally refuse  
The only Blessing he was loath to lose.  
However, he approv'd their good Intent  
So well, and their new Scheme of Government,  
That tho' he fear'd to take the sacred Name  
Of King, and to accept the *Diadem*,  
His Highness with their Model did agree,  
And was afresh Install'd accordingly \*.

\* Westminster-Hall, June 26.

A.D. 1657. With all the Royal Emblems but the Crown,  
 Presented him by Speaker *Withrington* \*,  
 Who to their proud sham Monarch first resign'd  
 A Purple Velvet Robe with Ermines Lin'd;  
 Next they profan'd the Word of GOD and gave  
 A Bible gilt to the Imperious Knave,  
 And then bestow'd on their Usurping Lord,  
 A golden Scepter and a costly Sword.  
 And thus regal'd the Sov'reign Rebel sate,  
 Enthron'd beneath a Canopy of State,  
 Whilst the shrill brazen Trumpet thrice defy'd  
 And challeng'd those who durst the Banes forbid :  
 Which being done, *Clarenceux*, to the shame  
 Of *Britain*, did the daring Wolf proclaim,  
 As Lord-Protector of the Commonwealth  
 Of the Three Kingdoms, thus usurp'd by stealth,  
 For all were weary of the Yoke they bore,  
 But knew not how to snap the Chains they wore.

When thus Install'd, the Upstart Monarch *Nol*  
 Return'd in solemn Triumph to *Whitehal*,  
 Having all giv'n him but the Name alone  
 Of King, to warrant and compleat his Throne,  
 Which he, no doubt, expected he should gain,  
 Before he'd finish'd his Rebellious Reign.  
 The Senate, who had run most smoothly on,  
 From last *September* to the Month of *June*,  
 On the same Day that they in Pomp Install'd,  
 And made a new Protector of their old,  
 Adjourn'd themselves, and for their Meeting fix'd  
 The twentieth Day of *January* next;  
 Having first pass'd the foll'wing Bills, to shew  
 How far they were to *Cromwel's* Int'rest true.

\* *Sir Thomas*;



A.D.

1657.

W

*Imprimis*, (that the King might see their Spite)  
An Act to disannul CHARLES STUART's Right.  
A second made in order to secure  
The Lord Protector's Person and his Pow'r.  
A third to hinder Building round the Town,  
Within Ten Miles, obliging e'ery one  
That should erect a House, to pay the whole  
Of a Year's Rent to the Protector *Nol.*  
They also kindly voted to maintain  
The War His Highness had begun with *Spain*,  
Declaring that the same was made upon  
Just Grounds, and should be push'd with Vigour on.  
Thus e'ery thing, as if decreed by Fate,  
Conspir'd to make the Prosp'rous Rebel Great,  
Who, by his last Instalment gain'd much more  
Of Sov'reign Pow'r than he could boast before;  
Also obtain'd the Freedom to appoint  
His next Successor to the Government:  
He therefore now put on a Kingly Air,  
And did with much more Majesty appear,  
Had in his Court all Officers of State,  
His Body-Guard attending at his Gate,  
A Band of lusty Yeomen, strong and tall,  
To guard his Presence and to grace his Hall;  
To his own Palace for his Children sent,  
That the coarse Brood his Grandeur might augment,  
Assuming all things that a King could need,  
Besides the Diadem to Crown his Head;  
Made firm and good Alliances abroad,  
Grew strong at Home, and distant Nations aw'd;  
Thro' all the Parts of *Europe* spread his Fame,  
And Reign'd a pow'rful King without the Name.

But that which in some measure did allay  
The Triumphs of his new Imperial Sway,

Was

A.D. Was the great Loss of *Reynolds* \*, who had been  
 1657. The Gen'ral of the *English* against *Spain*,  
 ~ And in that War in *Flanders* carry'd on,  
 Had Honour gain'd, and signal Service done;  
 But in a bad tempestuous Passage o'er  
 From *Holland* was, with *White* † and many more,  
 Forc'd by a Storm upon the *Goodwin* Sand,  
 And perish'd in the sight of *English* Land.

*Blake*, that successful General at Sea,  
 Early this Year || obtain'd a Victory  
 O'er the Plate-Fleet, as they for shelter lay  
 At *Santa Cruze*, in a commodious Bay,  
 Commanded by a Castle, under which  
 They thought no Danger could their Shipping reach.  
 However, *Blake* and *Stayner* ventur'd in,  
 And with Broadfides began the bloody Scene,  
 Burnt and sunk sev'ral of the *Spanish* Fleet,  
 And with less Number gave them a Defeat,  
 Returning Home with Honour and Renown,  
 Too great for him who had usurp'd the Throne;  
 Tho' *Cromwel* had the Grace to well Reward  
*Blake*, and the rest who in the Vict'ry shar'd,  
 The Brave Commander, who so oft had done  
 Such timely signal Services, and won  
 So many famous Battles on the Seas,  
 Dying (retir'd to his Eternal Ease)  
 Soon after he from *Santa Cruze* had brought  
 New Laurels home, the last for which he fought.

*Cromwel*, who now was Monarch, tho' no King,  
 By the new Model was oblig'd to bring

---

\* *Sir John.*

† *Colonel.*

|| *The latter end of April.*

Another House in play, tho' not of Lords,  
That as they'd mangl'd with their impious Swords  
The good old Constitution, to their Shame,  
They might rebuild up something like the same,  
And from its Ruins try to raise a poor  
Resemblance of the State they'd crush'd before ;  
Accordingly the Rebel-Monarch chose  
Such Officers in whom he could repose  
A Confidence, and summon'd about Ten  
Of the Old Nobles to this new Divan ;  
But of that Number there appear'd but Four,  
The rest were discontented at his Pow'r,  
And rather disobey'd the Tyrant's Call,  
Than become Members of his Mock-Cabal,  
Which were design'd, when first brought into use,  
To Counterfeit the Lords or Upper-House ;  
Yet could not take upon themselves, for shame,  
The House of Peers, that venerable Name,  
But, like their Maker *Cromwel*, proud and vile,  
Usurp'd the Pow'r without the ancient Stile.

A.D.  
1657.  
~

One Branch of Tyranny, which *Nol* enjoy'd  
Before his last Instalment, now was void,  
He and his Council being both debar'd  
From shutting out such Members as they fear'd  
Might ruffle their Affairs, and give such Stops  
And Rubs as might defeat their further Hopes ;  
For now all Persons, whether Friends or Foes,  
Had liberty to sit, if fairly chose,  
Except the Houses, upon just Complaint,  
By Vote, should throw 'em out of Parliament :  
This Article did to their Seats restore  
All those who had secluded been before,  
Which brought great Disadvantage unforeseen  
By *Nol*, who had in this outwitted been ;

For



A. D. For tho' he'd us'd his utmost Care and Pow'r,  
 1657. By Friends, to make the Upper-House secure,  
 He'd weaken'd much his Int'rest in the Low'r,  
 By calling into his Sham House of Peers,  
 The best of his most trusty Commoners;  
 Which gave his Enemies, who sat below,  
 So large a Scope to work his Overthrow,  
 That they began, as soon as e'er they met,  
 To shew their Teeth, and by Debates to whet  
 Their Malice, having no regard to those  
 Who had no Title but the *Other House*,  
 Calling in Question all that had been done  
 From the first Hour the Parliament begun,  
 During the time that many, who'd a fair  
 Pretence to sit and Vote, secluded were;  
 That *Nol's* new Empire, giv'n him by his late  
 Instalment, now grew matter of Debate:  
 Which so inflam'd the angry Tyrant's Breast,  
 That he took Hackney at *White-Hall* for haste,  
 And, lighting in the Palace-Yard, surpriz'd  
 The Upper-House, and, tho' by Friends advis'd  
 Against such Rashness, for the Commons sent,  
 And in a Heat dissolv'd the Parliament;  
 First shewing his Resentments in a bold  
 Tyrannick haughty Speech, wherein he told  
 The Commons, that no Man alive could say  
 He ever sought the Rule, which Burthen they  
 Had laid upon him, therefore ought to make  
 The same sit safe and easy on his Back;  
 Adding, that as the Legislative Pow'r  
 Devolv'd on them, and they had made it sure  
 To him, by their Instalment, it became  
 Their Duty, doubtless, to make good the same:  
 With many odd Excursions, to disclose  
 His warm Displeasure to his Lift'ning Foes;

And



And did with these harsh Words his Speech conclude, *A.D.*  
*I must dissolve ye, By the Living God ;* 1657.  
And so dismiss'd 'em, whilst his Foes, in scorn,  
Cry'd out aloud, *Amen* to't, in return.

This Year the Fifth Monarchists meant to rise,  
But *Cromwel* having Notice by his Spies,  
Timely prevented their intended Scene,  
And took the Leading Saints at *Mile-end-Green*,  
*Tom Venner, Ashton, Hopkins, Gowler, Gray,*  
With Arms that for their purpose ready lay,  
It being their Intent to march and join  
Their Country Friends, prepar'd for the Design;  
*Harrison* also was secur'd by *Nol*,  
And *Lawson*, who had been Vice-Admiral,  
With \* *Rich* and † *Danvers*, who were thought to be  
Abettors in this new Conspiracy ;  
For those who had prepar'd the bloody Way,  
Grew mad that *Cromwel* had ingross'd the Sway,  
And thought they had an equal Right with him  
To Rule the Roast and share the Pow'r Supreme,  
That e'ery jarring Side were bent to make  
His Reign uneasy and his Empire shake.

*So Wolves, to hunt their Prey, united run,  
And then divide and quarrel when they've done.*

The King in *Flanders* having call'd from *France*,  
Some *English, Scotch, and Irish* Regiments,  
Which he kept up in hopes to serve his Ends,  
By waisting them to join his *English* Friends  
Upon Occasion, but their Councils here  
Were so betray'd by Spies to *Oliver*,

---

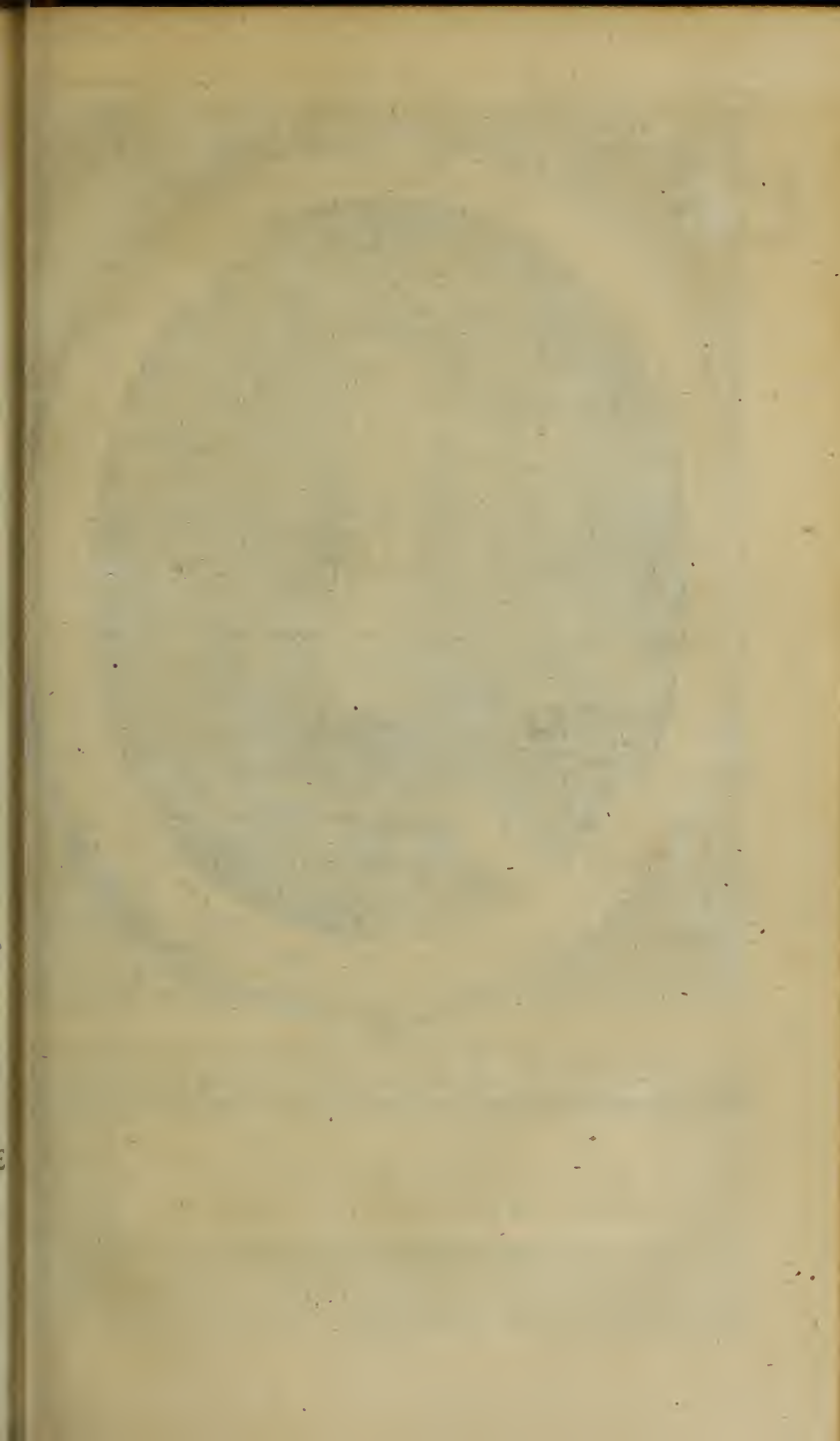
\* *Colonel.*

† *Major.*

A.D. That no Design was likely to succeed,  
1657. Tho' ne'er so well concerted and agreed;  
Which the King finding, gratefully resign'd  
His Little Army to his *Spanish* Friend,  
Who wanted Men, like them, in Battle skill'd,  
To shew a Brave Example in the Field,  
By which his Graver Troops might be inspir'd  
With hardier Courage than they'd yet acquir'd.

*Princes delight their Quarrels should be fought  
By Slaves who boldly perish on the Spot,  
Whilst they in Safety do their Temples crown  
With Laurels, by their bleeding Armies won.*

The End of the Ninth Year.





M. V. de Guchte Schol.

*The Illustrious Prince*  
*JAMES Duke of ORMOND.*



A. D.  
1657.  
~

THE

*Duke of ORMOND'S*

## CHARACTER.

**A** N *Irish* Peer of ancient Noble Birth,  
 A gallant Person of exemplar Worth,  
 Immovably Sincere, and always bore  
 A Loyal Rev'rence tow'rds the Sov'reign Pow'r :  
 None more Industrious to support the Throne,  
 And to preserve the Best of Kings thereon ;  
 Labour'd the Royal Int'rest to advance,  
 In *England, Scotland, Ireland, and in France ;*  
 None shewing more activity to heal  
 Those Wounds kept open by Intemp'rate Zeal,  
 Or could with more Integrity deport  
 Himself in Arms, or in his Prince's Court ;  
 Rising by Merit, which was truly great,  
 First from an Earldom to a Marquisate ;  
 And for the faithful Service he had done  
 His Injur'd Sov'reign and his Royal Son,  
 Was, by the Latter, to the next Degree  
 Of Honour rais'd, for his Fidelity ;  
 Also confirm'd in the Presiding Pow'r  
 Of *Ireland*, which His Grace had held before :  
 Where, to all Sides, he gave such full Content,  
 By his Discreet and Gen'rous Management,  
 And kept a Court, in Honour to his Prince,  
 Aggrandiz'd with such true Magnificence,

P p

That

A.D. 1657. That the Great Duke of Ormond was his Style,  
 Thro' England, Scotland, and his Native Isle,  
 Where they adore his Mem'ry and his Name,  
 And o'er his Ashes daily sing his Fame.

*Thus Great Mens Vertues in the Grave take Root,  
 And o'er the Tomb their fragrant Branches shoot,  
 Whilst Rotting Traitors turn to stinking Weeds,  
 As Rank and Loathsome as their odious Deeds.*

THE





*M. P. Campbell sculp.*

*ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL —  
Earle & Marquess of ARGYLE*



A.D.  
1657.

THE

Marquis of ARGYLE'S

# CHARACTER.

A Noble cunning *Scot*, who plaid his Game,  
With too much Caution to preserve his Fame;  
'Twixt King and Covenant his Course he steer'd,  
To both at once a seeming Friend appear'd;  
As if in Times of Danger he was free  
To please all Sides for his Security:  
No Obligations from the Crown refus'd,  
Nor any Trust to its advantage us'd:  
Was Honour'd by the King \*, kept close at Court;  
Did him no good, nor the *Scotch* Rebels hurt;  
But wisely study'd honestly to play  
The Cards for both, but could not find the way,  
Faring like those who meddle with the Strife  
'Twixt a vex'd Husband and provoking Wife.

When his Good Sov'reign, who had us'd him well,  
By the base Treachery of *Scotland*, fell  
Into the Rump's vile Hands, the Marquis then  
United close with *Cromwel* and with *Vane*,  
And quite forgot the best of Friends and Kings,  
In Prison bound amidst his Sufferings,

\* Made a Marquis.

A.D. Thinking it time to make his Int'rest good  
 1657. With those who sought his Royal Master's Blood :  
 Not that he join'd his Foes through Love of them,  
 Or Hatred to the King, his Just Supream,  
 But meerly thro' the want, as most agree,  
 Of Honour, Courage, and Integrity.

When the *Scotch* Senate, with so good a Will,  
 Prepar'd and Pass'd the Proclamation Bill,  
 For CHARLES the Second, which the Marquis found  
 He could not hinder, yet to shew his sound  
 Affection to the Kirk, much Pains he spent  
 To clog it with the Holy Covenant ;  
 By which His Grace much Reputation gain'd  
 With the good Clergy of that Pious Land ;  
 Yet when the King came over for the Crown  
 Of *Scotland*, plac'd upon his Head at *Schone*,  
 None were more ready than the crafty *Scot*,  
 To bid him Welcome, tho' he lik'd him not.  
 But when he found His Majesty too wise  
 And cautious to be steer'd by his Advice,  
 He left the King and to his House retir'd,  
 To cool his Breast, with much Resentment fir'd.

*Since mighty Men can break the strongest Ties  
 Religion can enjoin, or Law devise,  
 Well may the savage Croud from Duty swerve,  
 Who know no better than to Slave and Starve.*

A.D.  
1658.

The most

## Remarkable Transactions

Of the Tenth Year of the Reign of

King CHARLES the Second,

*Anno Dom. 1658.*

**E**Arly this Year the *Spaniards* to regain  
*Jamaica*, Landed Forces, but in vain;  
 For by the *English* they were soon o'erthrown,  
 Their Leader \* taken, and his Troops undone.  
 In *Flanders* also *Cromwel's* Arms prevail'd,  
 And sent him home fresh Laurels from the Field,  
 Where *English Lockart* †, and the Brave *Turenne*,  
 Against the *Spaniards* had successful been,  
 And with a swift and fortunate Career,  
 Did from one Conquest to another steer,  
 Took strong *Mardike*, from thence to *Dunkirk* went,  
 Which they Besieg'd, and after they had spent  
 Some time, were by the *Spaniards* utmost Force  
 Attack'd, which they soon routed Foot and Horse,  
 Took many Nobles Pris'ners, and renew'd  
 The Siege till they the Town and Fort subdu'd,  
 Which, tho' surrender'd first to *Mazarine*,  
 The Cardinal thought proper to resign

\* Francisco de Prencia.

† Lord.



A. D. 1658. To *Cromwel*, which was smoothly done, without  
 The least Objection, Cavil, or Dispute.  
 So careful were the *French* to do whate'er  
 Might curry Favour with the Rebel here.

The Royalists were now inclin'd to rise,  
 But *Nol* was so precaution'd by his Spies,  
 That he took timely Measures to prevent  
 The Plot design'd against the Government,  
 And fill'd his Jays with such as he furnis'd  
 Were of this new Conspiracy appriz'd;  
 Indicted many and Convicted some,  
 Who suffer'd Death according to their Doom;  
*Slingsby*\* and *Hewet*† were among the rest  
 Condemn'd to Sledge and Gallows, but redress'd  
 So far, as only to submit their Necks  
 To the hard Block and the dividing Axe||,  
 Whose fatal Strokes have sent so many Brave  
 Heroick Worthies to the silent Grave,  
 As well as Numbers who have justly felt  
 The same as an attonement for their Guilt.  
 However, *Cromwel*, tho' he countermin'd  
 By Craft whate'er the Royalists design'd;  
 Yet, since his last Establishment, his Mind  
 Was to strange Fears and Jealousies inclin'd,  
 Strongly conceiting he should be destroy'd  
 By some bold Champions of the Royal Side,  
 Who, in Revenge, would give a daring Blow,  
 That should at once compleat his Overthrow;  
 Which, frightful Dreams, we justly may suppose,  
 From nothing but his own black Guilt arose:

\* *Sir Henry.*

† *Doctor.*

|| *June the 8th on Tower-Hill.*



For Conscience, tho' 'tis stiff'd for a time,  
Still keeps account of e'ery barb'rous Crime;  
And, when we least expect it, will perplex  
Our Souls with past Offences and Mistakes.

A.D.

1658,

W

However, tho' these Conflicts had possess'd  
And terrify'd the Tyrant's conscious Breast,  
They prov'd but false Allarms, for there appear'd  
No such Attempts as he so greatly fear'd;  
For Heav'n decreed he gradually should bear  
The Stings of Conscience, Sickness and Despair,  
And waste beneath the Terrors of the Guilt  
Of all the Wrongs he'd done and Blood he'd spilt.  
To usher in his own approaching Fate,  
That put a period to his Sov'reign State,  
His Daughter *Cleypole*, whom he lov'd the best  
Of all his Children, and the most carefs'd,  
Resign'd her Breath\*, when she had long endur'd  
Such Pains as could be neither eas'd nor cur'd,  
Arising, as 'twas thought by Men of Art,  
From an Imposthume in some Inward Part;  
Under which Misery she much exclaim'd  
Against her Father's Cruelties, and blam'd  
His barb'rous Usage of the King, and cry'd  
She felt the Suff'rings of the Royal Side,  
And smarted for the Evils he had done,  
To raise himself into another's Throne;  
With many such Expressions, which, till weak  
With Sickness, she perhaps might fear to speak,  
Tho' in her Health she never could be won  
T'approve of what her Rebel Sire had done;  
Yet *Cromwel* at her Death was so concern'd,  
That all his Pomp was into Sadness turn'd:

\* August the 6th at Hampton-Court.

A.D. 1658. But that which fed and made his Sorrow worse,  
 Was the deportment of his Officers,  
 Who with his single Rule seem'd much displeas'd,  
 And had a Faction in the Army rais'd,  
 Who were preparing, as he found, by stealth,  
 To change his Scepter to a Commonwealth:  
*Fleetwood*, by Marriage, *Cromwel's* Son-in-Law,  
 And his own Sister's Husband *Desborow*,  
 Having Confed'rated with Four, by Name  
*Cooper* and *Berry*, *Pick'ring*, *Sydenham*;  
 The first two Col'nels, and the last two fate  
 In Council, and were trusted with the State:  
 These were the leading Junto, who were bent  
 To ruffle the Protector's Government,  
 And to seduce the Army to agree  
 Once more to set up Rump-Democracy;  
 The fear of which arising on the Death  
 Of *Cromwel's* dear belov'd *Elizabeth*,  
 So chill'd his Spirits that, at *Hampton-Court*,  
 An Ague seiz'd him, of the Tertian sort,  
 And handl'd him so roughly, that he soon  
 Was glad to leave that Palace for the Town,  
 Tho' in his Intervals he oft would boast,  
 And ravingly affirm, *The Lord of Hosts*  
*Would still reserve him to perform more great*  
*And wondrous Works than he'd accomplish'd yet,*  
 In which Enthusiastick flight of Hope  
 His Chaplain, Doctor *Goodwin*, buoy'd him up,  
 Till both the Saints were so convinc'd, at length,  
 By his low Pulse, and his declining Strength,  
 That a few Days would put a dreadful End  
 To all his mighty Pomp so basely gain'd,  
 And then he thought 'twas time to name his Son  
*Richard* as his Successor to the Throne\*,

---

\* August 31.

A.D.  
1658.  
w

Which Pow'r the Parliament thought fit to grant  
 Upon his last Supreme Establishment.  
 So that when thus he'd spoke his Mind before  
 Two Persons first \*, and afterwards Three more †,  
 Who all, excepting one, were of the Nine  
 Whom *Cromwel* had of late thought fit to join  
 In a Committee, chiefly with Intent  
 To ease him in Affairs of Government,  
 The dying Wonder of that impious Age  
 Had nought to do upon this worldly Stage,  
 But to prepare his sad expiring Soul,  
 Of Anguish, Horror, and Amazement full,  
 To make her dismal trembling *Exit* hence,  
 Struck with Despair and loaded with Offence,  
 Which he resign'd, upon the Day whereon  
 He had two great and famous Vict'ries won ||,  
 And always had esteem'd the same to be  
 Remarkable for his Prosperity :  
 But as the Tyrant on his Death-Bed lay,  
 The Night that usher'd in the fatal Day,  
 Allarm'd the Nation with a Storm so fierce,  
 As if his Groans had shook the Universe,  
 And that the *Exit* of so proud a Soul  
 Had kindl'd Civil Wars from Pole to Pole,  
 And threaten'd Dissolution of the whole.

}

*Richard*, according to his Father's Will,  
 Succeeded in the Pow'r obtain'd so ill,  
 And after he'd expensively Interr'd  
 The dead Usurper, as his Friends desir'd,  
 The Army wheresoe'er dispers'd, address'd  
 Their new Protector, and his Right confess'd,

\* *Thurloe and Doctor Goodwin.*

† *Fiennes, Whaley, and Goffe.*

‡ *Dunbar and Worcester, Septemb. 3.*



A.D. 1658. Whilst those Commanders who were then in Town,  
 Lifted him up into his Sov'reign Throne;  
 Not doubting now but they should soon outwit  
 And Rule their Ruler as themselves thought fit,  
 Who had no Military Acts perform'd :  
 Nor was he with due Resolution arm'd,  
 But simply thought that those who rais'd him up,  
 Would still Obey and be his faithful Prop :  
 But *Lambert*, now the Darling of the Host,  
 Having therein regain'd a Col'nel's Post,  
 By sily courting *Fleetwood* to become  
 Protector in the Puppet *Richard's* room,  
 So tamper'd with the Soldiers that they soon  
 Began to think of pulling *Richard* down,  
 And to reform the Pow'r they thought too great  
 For one, into a more divided State :  
 Accordingly some Hotspurs of the Sword  
 Met daily at a House call'd *Wallingford*,  
 Where *Fleetwood* dwelt\*, that they might there consult  
 Of Measures how the Army should Revolt ;  
 That when themselves once more the Pow'r had got,  
 They might set up they scarce indeed knew what ;  
 For 'twas a constant Method thro' the whole  
 Rebellion, with the Saints to rend and pull  
 Their Rulers down, before they'd well agreed  
 What Form of Government should next succeed ;  
 For their chief Aim was to improve their own  
 Estates, by plund'ring those they'd o'erthrown,  
 And then to build up such a Pow'r as might  
 Confirm their Rob'ries into Lawful Right.

The new Protector was not unappriz'd  
 Of their Designs, and therefore was advis'd

---

\* As is said by Hobbs ; but Baker reports it to be the House of  
 Desborough.



By his best Friends to kill the Chief of those  
That did in Council meet at *Fleetwood's* House;  
But wanting Courage he refus'd Consent,  
And rather chose to call a Parliament;  
In which he only could propose to shun  
*Caribdis*, but must needs on *Scylla* run.  
However, Writs were issu'd to require  
A Parliament forthwith at *Westminster*,  
Where both the Houses did pursuant meet,  
And on the Day assign'd \* began to sit:  
The Commons minding only to Ingress  
The Pow'r, had no regard to t'other House;  
Or did they Speak or Act as if intent  
On *Richard's* Safety or Establishment;  
But took themselves to be alone Supream,  
Without his Upper House of Lords or Him.  
And when His Highness did a Bill prefer,  
About their Recognition of his Pow'r,  
They made Additions, that himself might see  
Therein the Bounds of his Authority,  
With sev'ral Clauses of a large extent,  
To secure Privilege of Parliament,  
The Subjects Liberties, and such like things,  
With which our Senates us'd to ruffle Kings.  
Thus had the tame Protector scarce begun  
His Reign e'er he was more than half undone,  
And sate in Jeopardy between two Foes,  
Too fierce to soothe, too pow'rful to oppose.

At length the Commons voted to transact  
With t'other House, but also did exact,  
That no more Writs of Summons should be sent  
As unto Peers, when call'd to Parliament,

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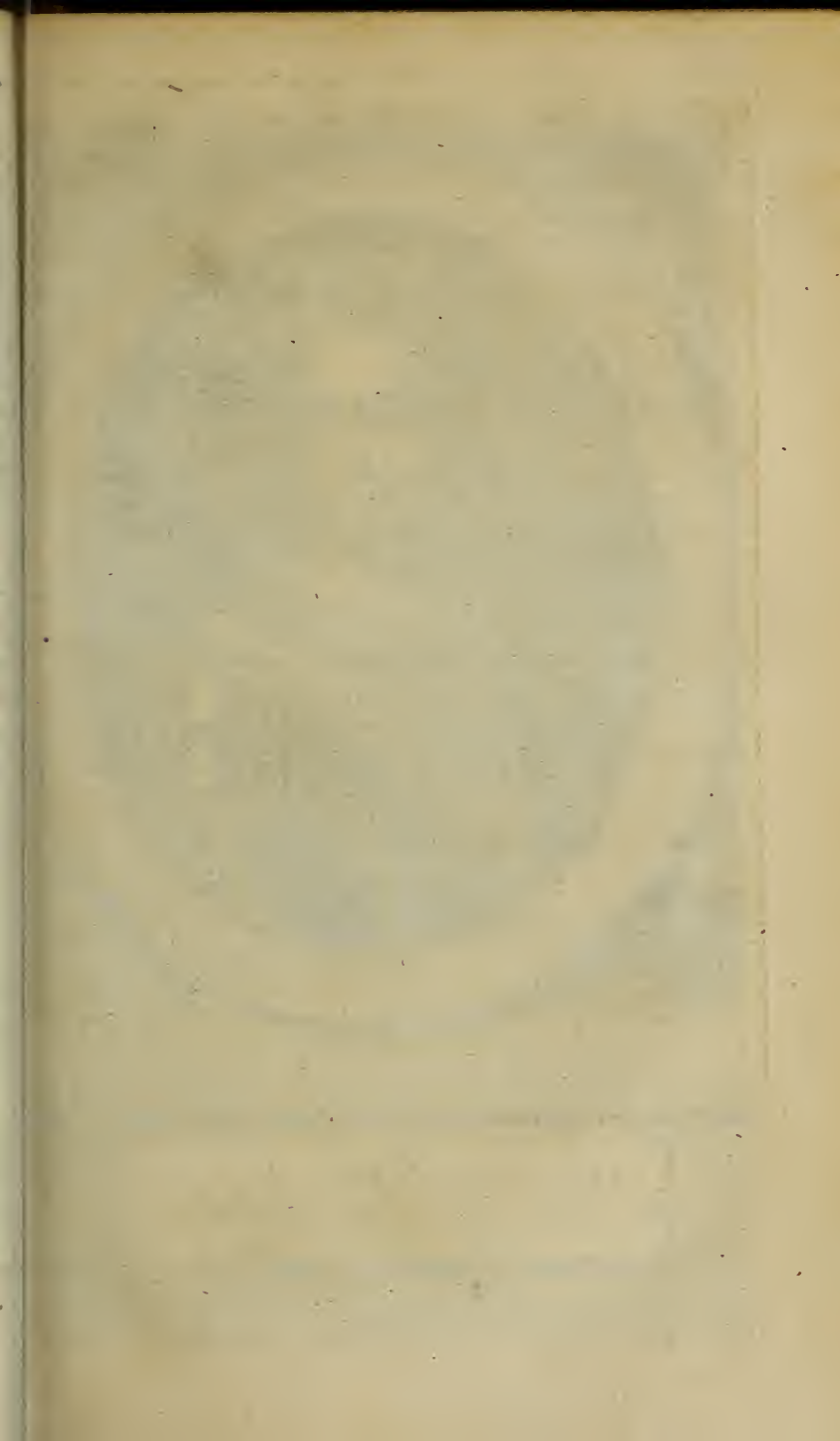
\* January the 27th.

A. D. But that they all should be futurely chose  
1658. In the same manner as the Nether-House.

~ They likewise voted to themselves the Pow'r  
Of the Militia ; also did restore  
To Liberty some Persons who had been  
Committed in the late Usurper's Reign,  
Proceeding unto many Points beside,  
Concerning Civil Rights, to shew their Pride,  
Aim'd at no less than as the Rump had done,  
To make the Legislative Pow'r their own ;  
Coz'ning the silly Crowd the while with fair  
Pretences of devout uncommon Care,  
For their Religion, Liberties and Lives,  
Such Cant that pleases Fools and good Old Wives,  
And does so oft decoy the Brainless Herd  
Into those fatal Snares they've always fear'd.

*So Wolves who into Shepherd's Cloathing creep,  
With Reformation lull their Flocks asleep,  
That they may fright 'em, with their hideous cries  
Of Pop'ry, when they want to have 'em rise,  
And pull down any Ruling Prince or Pow'r,  
They're pleas'd to call the Babylonian Whore.*

The End of the Tenth Year.







Major Gen.<sup>l</sup> LAMBERT.



A.D.  
1658.  
~*Major-General* LAMBERT'S

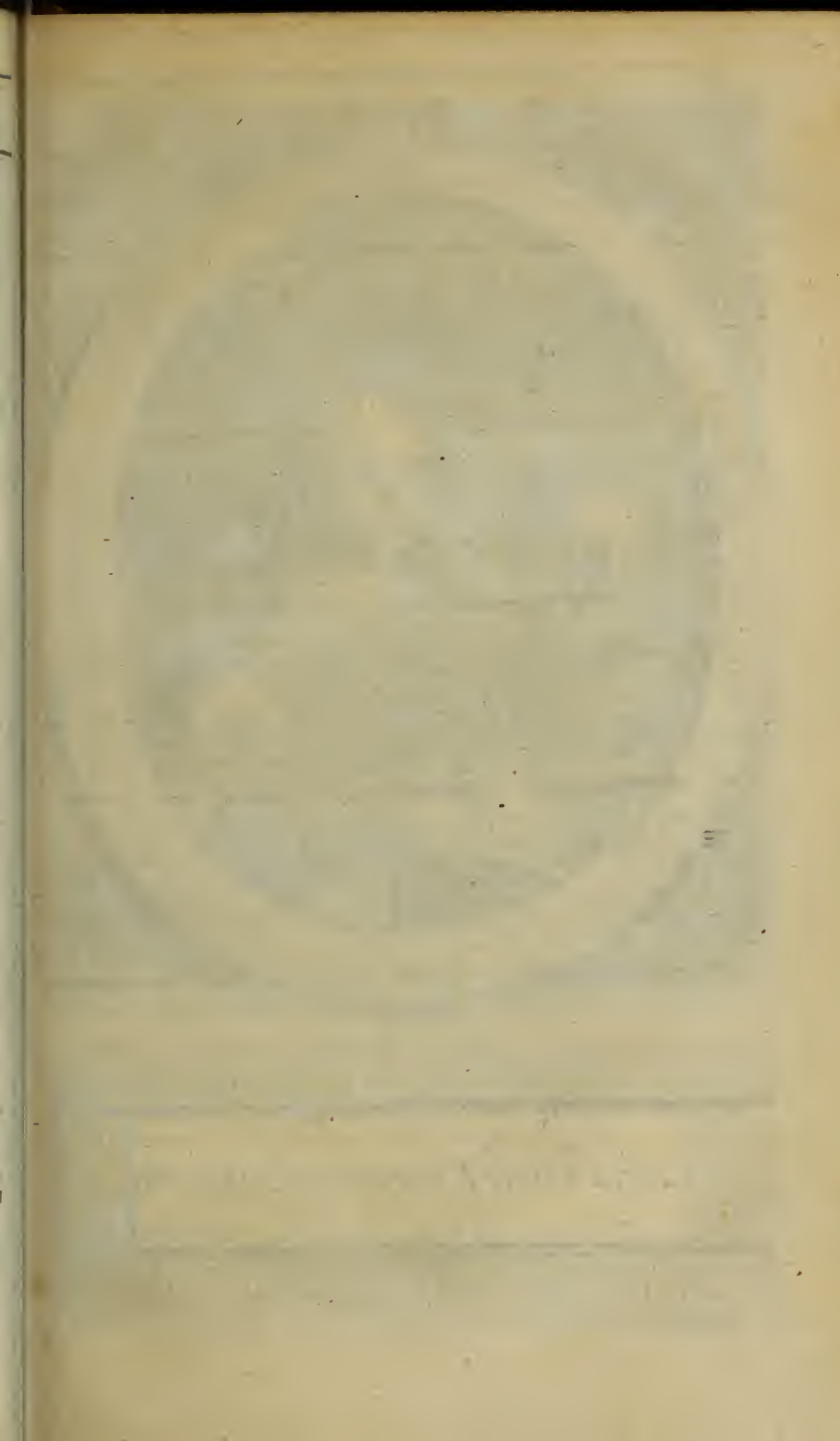
## CHARACTER.

A Daring Champion in the *Good-Old-Cause*,  
Active in Arms and greedy of Applause;  
In all the Discipline of War well skill'd,  
Second to none but *Cromwel* in the Field :  
Nor did he want Ambition to pursue  
The same vile Ends, and that the other knew ;  
Who therefore all along took special Care  
To watch his Motions, tho' he carry'd fair,  
And us'd the utmost Arts he could devise,  
To make him Instrumental in his Rise;  
Promis'd the Major he should always be  
The Second Person in Authority.  
And when aspiring *Cromwel* had obtain'd  
His Ends, to keep his Rival still his Friend,  
He made a Promise *Lambert* should alone  
Be nam'd his next Successor to the Throne ;  
But dying, had the Grace to break his Word,  
And choose his Son to the Protecting Sword :  
Which so affronted *Lambert* that he soon  
Remov'd the tim'rous Upstart from the Throne,  
In hopes to have usurp'd the Government  
Himself, but could not gain that knotty Point,  
Falling so vastly short of Sov'reign Pow'r,  
That he was made close Pris'ner in the *Tow'r* ;

Whence

A. D. Whence he escap'd, and did again appear  
 1658. With a few Forces in Northamptonshire;  
 But most Revolted when they should have fought  
 And Lambert was retaken on the Spot,  
 Brought up before the State, and for his Crime  
 Committed to the Tow'r a second time,  
 Where he remain'd till e'ery neighb'ring Gun,  
 About his Ears, proclaim'd the Royal Son,  
 Whose Father's Life he had so often fought,  
 And with his Fellows to destruction brought:  
 For which himself was try'd, and doom'd to die,  
 But rescu'd by forgiving Clemency,  
 Living Confin'd near Thirty Years in Jayl,  
 Till Death took Pity and became his Bail.

*Thus Pride, who strikes the Eye of Reason blind,  
 With Rainbow Shadows tempts the soaring Mind  
 Into her bellish Traps and fatal Snares,  
 Then leaves the Bubble to his Sighs and Pray'rs.*







*M. P. Goult scul.*

*Lieut. Gen. EDMUND LUDLOW.*



A. D.  
1658.

THE  
CHARACTER  
OF  
*Colonel* LUDLOW.

A Stubborn bold Fanatick, well supply'd  
With Courage, Malice, Sanctity and Pride;  
Who thought it meritorious to pull down  
Those *Babylonian* Idols, Church and Crown,  
Like a true Saint, believing there could be  
No Wickedness on Earth but Popery;  
And that whate'er themselves were pleas'd to style  
As such, they might with a safe Conscience spoil  
And plunder all as Papists, who refus'd  
To serve the Cause the Rebel-Herd espous'd.  
By such Fanatick barb'rous Zeal as this,  
The Traytor *Ludlow* prosper'd by degrees,  
Till from a Captain he, at length, became  
Of Horse a Col'nel, still pursuing Fame,  
In a wrong Path, till he'd at last a Call  
To be Lieutenant-General to *Nol*;  
And after *Ireton* died, had sole Command  
Of all the Forces in the *Irish* Land,  
Till *Cromwel* kick'd his Masters out of Door,  
And gave to *Fleetwood* the *Hibernian* Pow'r.  
*Ludlow* endeav'ring after to inflame  
That Kingdom, made by cruel Usage tame,  
Holding a Correspondence with a Fry'r,  
The better to revive the smother'd Fire,

Made

A.D. Made his own Markets of the Captive Croud,  
1658. Who in those bloody Wars had been subdu'd;  
W Hang'd whom he pleas'd, sav'd others for their Gold,  
And droves of Wretches to Plantations sold;  
Grew Rich and Prosper'd, till the Royal Son  
Return'd in Glory to possess his Throne:  
And then the Regicide, to save his Head  
From London-Bridge, to Foreign Regions fled;  
Where, with some other Traytors, he remain'd,  
Till to a wretched Life Death put an end.

*Would Men delib'rate on the common Fate,  
That does on base perfidious Greatness wait,  
They'd never toil, with Infamy, to win  
What ends in Mis'ry, as 'tis gain'd in Sin.*

A.D.  
1659.

The most

## Remarkable Transactions

Of the Eleventh Year of the Reign of

King CHARLES the Second.

*Anno Dom. 1659.*

A MONG the divers Acts this First and Last  
Of tott'ring *Richard's* Parliaments had pass'd;  
The chief was to forbid and to disperse  
The Council or Cabal of Officers.  
Another, that no Man should hold Command  
I'th' Army, who refus'd to set his Hand  
To an Engagement, strictly to prevent  
Their Molestation of the Parliament;  
But that all Members should be free to sit,  
And to debate whate'er the House thought fit.  
Also, to please the Soldiery, they made  
A Vote that their Arrears should soon be paid.  
But all this would not pacify the Heat  
O'th' Officers, who were forbid to meet:  
So that the Government, which was before  
But ill cemented in its Parts of Pow'r,  
Now fell at once in Pieces, e'ery Limb  
Contending warmly which should be supreme;  
*Richard*, the Army, and the Parliament,  
B'ing all alike against each other bent,  
No Side to their establish'd Compact true,  
But e'ery Branch against the other two.

A. D. 1659. The Officers who sat at *Fleetwood's* House,  
 Were now so stubborn and imperious,  
 That they with sev'ral Troops came down upon  
*White-Hall*, with a Commission ready drawn,  
 Thereto requiring Sov'reign *Dick's* assent,  
 That *Desb'rough* might dissolve the Parliament;  
 Which the Protector sign'd in a surprise,  
 In truth; not daring to do otherwise;  
 The Parliament, however, had the Grace  
 To still continue sitting sev'ral Days,  
 Till they adjourn'd, at the Week's end, to meet  
 On *Monday* foll'wing \*, but 'twas then thought fit,  
 By th' Officers, to Barricade the Door,  
 And guard the House that they should sit no more.  
 Which render'd all the Senate's Projects vain,  
 And put an end, at once, to *Richard's* Reign;  
 Who, having little now to do in Town,  
 Retir'd into the Country, where he soon  
 Resign'd his Pow'r, on Promise they'd discharge  
 His Debts, by's Father's Funeral made large.  
 And thus, at once, their Government by One  
 Was so dissolv'd, that they were Rul'd by None.  
 In which ill State the Nation stood perplex'd,  
 Ten Days, not knowing who'd be Masters next,  
 Till *Lambert*, *Haslerig*, and many more  
 Rump Officers, i'th' Army Men of Pow'r,  
 Restor'd their Speaker *Lenthall*, with a Crew  
 Of the old Rump, in number Forty two,  
 All they could muster up in Town, who'd been  
 The Butchers of their Lawful Sovereign,  
 Turn'd out by *Oliver* in Fifty-three,  
 When he assum'd Supreme Authority,  
 Which from his tim'rous Son again devolv'd  
 On those the Father had long since dissolv'd.

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\* April 25.



And now again the Rump, by the consent  
O'th' Army, were declar'd the Parliament,  
Enter'd the House, and reassum'd that Pow'r  
They'd been so long divest'd of before :  
Nor would they 'dmit those Members who had been,  
By Vote, seclud'd in their former Reign,  
Tho' their Election was the same with theirs  
Who'd now the sole Direction of Affairs ;  
And made a Vote, as early as they met \*,  
That none, unless they'd sat since Forty-Eight,  
Should in that present Parliament presume  
To take his Seat, or as a Member come,  
Till further Order. Thus the Rump Ingross'd,  
At once, what they as suddenly had lost.  
But they who did the Traytors Reinthrone,  
Soon lent a helping hand to pull 'em down ;  
For *Lambert*, unto whom Protecting *Nol*  
Had promis'd to bequeath the Sov'reign Rule,  
Expertly skilful in the crooked Road  
Which his old Gen'ral *Oliver* had trod,  
Resolv'd to let slip nothing that might clear  
The Way and make his Rise the Easier ;  
Was therefore rather willing to restore  
The Rump, than *Richard* should maintain the Pow'r,  
For fear Experience at the Helm might prove,  
If once well fix'd, a Bar to his Remove.

A.D.  
1659.



*Thus when the Reins to all alike are free,  
And Government becomes a Lottery,  
Both Knaves and Fools will hustle Fortune's Dice,  
In spite of Odds, to win the highest Prize.*

The Royal Party now began to stir,  
And some Commotion make in *Glouc'stershire* ;

\* May the 7th.

A.D. 1659. But Major-Gen<sup>l</sup> *Massej*, who had laid  
 The Scheme, was by an Accident \* betray'd,  
 Himself and the Lord *Herbert*, with some more,  
 B<sup>ing</sup> taken by a Troop from *Gloucester*;  
 But *Massej*'s Horse, by stumbling in his Way,  
 Down a steep Hill of wet and slipp<sup>ry</sup> Clay,  
 Rescu'd the Pris<sup>ner</sup> from his Guard by Night,  
 And carr'd him off by dint of speedy Flight.

The *Cheshire* Presbyterians also made  
 An Insurrection, chusing to be led  
 By Sir *George Booth*; but *Lambert* being sent  
 With Force superior by the Parliament,  
 Suppress'd them soon, and, after Battle, seiz'd  
 Sir *George* †, as riding up to Town disguis'd,  
 Subduing *Chester*, *Liverpool*, and more  
 Such Holds as *Booth* had taken just before,  
 Returning to his Sov<sup>reign</sup> Lords the Rump,  
 With Crouds of Pris<sup>ners</sup> in Triumphant Pomp.  
 But e<sup>re</sup> he came to Town, at his own Cost  
 Had giv<sup>n</sup> so kind a Welcome to his Host  
 In *Yorkshire*, at his Country-Seat, that all  
 Were ready, in return, to stand or fall  
 By such a Noble Bounteous General.

This Cunning also won his Troops consent  
 To a Petition to the Parliament,  
 That their Great Wisdom would vouchsafe to call  
 Some proper Person to be General,  
 For that 'twas neither reas<sup>n</sup>able nor fit  
 The Army should at such a time submit  
 Toth <sup>Judgment</sup>, or depend upon the Care  
 Of those who of itself extrinsick were.

\* *The Interception of a Letter.*

† *At Newport-Pagnel.*

A.D.  
1659.

Some other Points b'ing added, but of less  
Importance, for on this they laid their stress;  
Which Paper, when 'twas lick'd at *Fleetwood's* House  
Into such Form as proper for their use,  
Sign'd by the Army Officers, was sent  
By th' Hand of *Desb'rough* to the Parliament\*,  
Who wisely had, within themselves, till now,  
Withheld the Pow'r of Gen'alissimo,  
And, by their Speaker, in the House gave out  
Their own Commissions both to Horse and Foot;  
Rememb'ring well how they'd been serv'd before,  
By their old crafty Gen'ral *Oliver*;  
And therefore thought it was unsafe to trust  
A second Hero in so high a Post:  
However, after *Lambert* had so far  
Prevail'd in *Cheshire* and in *Lancashire*,  
It aw'd the House to readily agree  
The Matter should forthwith debated be;  
Which they perform'd, and prov'd, at length, so stout;  
As to assert their Courage in a Vote †,  
That all Commissions hitherto enjoy'd  
By *Lambert* and by *Desb'rough*, should be void,  
And of all Officers that held a Board  
Or Council at the House call'd *Wallingford*,  
And that the Army should Commanded be,  
Till the Twelfth Day o'th' foll'wing *Feb'rury*,  
By a Commission granted unto Six ||,  
On whom the Parliament were pleas'd to fix:  
And that they might be safe in what they'd done,  
They order'd two ‡ of those they'd pitch'd upon,

\* October the 4th.

† October the 12th.

|| Fleetwood, Monk, Hallerig, Walton, Morley, and Overton.

‡ Hallerig and Morley.



A. D. 1659. To Issue Warrants to each Officer,  
 Whom they thought fit to trust in the Affair,  
 To bring what Force they could next Morning down  
 To *Westminster*, to guard that End o'th' Town,  
 Expecting those they had discharg'd would play  
 Some Trick to be reveng'd, the foll'wing Day.  
 And as the Rump suspected so it prov'd,  
 For *Lambert* early with his Soldiers mov'd  
 To *Westminster*, and lin'd both *Palace-Yards*  
 And *King-street*, e're the Rumpers brought their Guards,  
 Turn'd back the Speaker, did the House secure,  
 That not a Member durst approach the Door:  
 Whilst t'other Forces were oblig'd to march  
 Quite round the Park to reach *St. Marg'ret's Church*,  
 Where, in the Yard, they into Order drew,  
 Both Sides b'ing Posted in each other's view,  
 Expecting e'ery Minute to begin  
 I'th' Street, instead of Field, the bloody Scene;  
 But were diverted, by some good Advice,  
 From fighting, tho' they look'd like Enemies  
 Upon each other, till the Ev'ning's close,  
 Then both drew off and parted without Blows.  
 The Officers who thus dissolv'd the Pow'r  
 O'th' Rump, in Council joining as before,  
 Contin'ing such a Guard as should prevent  
 The further meeting of the Parliament.

*And thus the Rump, who thought the Rule their own,  
 A second time was from the Saddle thrown.*

The Army, who maintain'd their Council-Board  
 At their old Plotting House of *Wallingford*,  
 Among themselves a new Committee coin'd,  
 To which some noted Citizens they join'd:  
 And these now undertook the Ruling Care  
 Of Publick Safety, both in Peace and War,



To try Delinquents, treat with Foreign States,  
Suppress Rebellious Tumults and Debates,  
That to the Common Danger should arise,  
Between the Nation's Friends and Enemies.  
In short, that all Mens Burthens might be eas'd,  
Meaning their own, they did whate'er they pleas'd.  
Yet *Lambert* still retain'd his former Hope,  
Of climbing, by good Conduct, to the Top;  
For this Committee were to frame a Scheme,  
To settle, in six Weeks, the Pow'r Supreme;  
Yet *Lambert* must have thought 'em Fools if they  
Should from themselves have giv'n the same away.

*For no wise Man can hope that crafty Knaves  
Made Kings, will by their own free Gift be Slaves.*

But *Monk*, who all this while in *Scotland* lay,  
Neglected by the Clan that bore the Sway,  
Having done Greater Service to befriend  
The Good-Old-Cause, than *Lambert* could pretend,  
Began to think it hard the Sword should bear  
The Rule, and he not worthy of a share;  
He therefore in a Letter did detest  
The Managements of *Lambert* and the rest:  
Which so surpriz'd 'em that they now began  
To fear they'd disobligh'd a dang'rous Man.  
Who in his Northern Army next secures  
All *Baptists*, and such other Officers  
As he suspected would with *Lambert* side,  
And with more trusty Friends their Posts supply'd:  
Then march'd his Forces into *Berwick Town*,  
And thither call'd a *Scotch Convention*;  
To whom he recommended, first the Care  
Of *Scotland* in his Absence, and with fair  
Engaging Words desir'd they would advance  
A Sum for his and his Troops Maintenance

A. D. 1659. To *London*, which they rais'd without Debate,  
 And gave an Aid sufficient, tho' not great,  
 Hoping that *England* would again renew  
 Her Quarrels, and her Ruine still pursue.

The proud Committee Kings, on t'other side,  
 Did for their Safety against *Monk* provide,  
 And with sufficient Force sent *Lambert* forth,  
 To meet and to oppose him in the *North*,  
 At the same time us'd all their Craft to gain  
 A Treaty, which at length they did obtain,  
 So far, that *Monk* sent Officers to Town,  
 In number Three, with a Commission  
 To treat with Three of theirs, who soon agreed  
 On Terms, wherein *Monk's* Agents did exceed  
 Their Orders, and consented to exclude  
 The King, to please the *Independant* Brood;  
 That a free State should also settl'd be,  
 And Care be taken of the Ministry.  
 Which Articles the General refus'd  
 To ratify, and thought himself ill us'd  
 By those he had employ'd, confining one \*  
 O'th' Three, who had beyond Commission run.  
 These Ruffles caus'd the Parties to contrive  
 A second Treaty, sending Five to Five:  
 But whilst these Managers were carr'ing on  
 The Bus'ness of Accommodation,  
*Rump Haslerig* had seiz'd upon the Town  
 Of *Portsmouth*, a commodious Garison;  
 And when the *Safe Committee* sent down Men,  
 In hopes, by Siege, they might the Town regain,  
 They all Revolted, and were glad to join  
 The *Presbyterian* Forces lodg'd therein;

\* Colonel Wilks

A.D.  
1659.

Which gave a sudden Shock, that greatly cool'd  
The Courage of the Army-Saints that rul'd.  
The City also did in Tumults rise,  
For a Free Parliament renew'd their Cries.  
*Fairfax*, who had the Rump's old Gen'ral been,  
In *Yorkshire* levy'd sev'ral Thousand Men,  
That *Lambert* now between two Armies lay,  
Holding no Card that he could safely play.  
*Monk* he'd have gladly fought, but durst not do't,  
Because the Treaty still was kept on Foot.  
News also came to the Committee's Ear,  
That they were Lifting Men in *Devonshire*  
And *Cornwal*; fresh Amusements e'ery Day  
Allarming those that had ingross'd the Sway:  
But that which prov'd still worse, was *Lambert's* want  
Of Money, which begot much Discontent  
Among his Soldiers, who were odious grown,  
Because they'd nothing to subsist upon  
Besides Free-Quarter, to their Leader's Shame,  
Which much enrag'd the Towns where'er they came:  
Nor could their tott'ring Governours propose  
To raise Supplies, when so beset with Foes;  
Did therefore, with Reluctance, now consent  
To give in their new Scheme of Government:  
Which was, that a Free Parliament should meet \*;  
But neither King nor Lords allow'd to sit:  
Which Limitations made the City more  
Perverse and Angry than they were before;  
That now they durst no Forces send from Town,  
To quell the Westerly Commotion,  
For fear the City, in this great Disgust,  
Should pull a Crow with them that Rul'd the Roast:  
Nor had they Money to defray the Charge  
Of raising Men, their Army to enlarge:

\* December the 15th.



A.D. That now the Junto found the wisest way  
1659. Was to Dissolve and part without delay;  
In which, as their best Course, they did accord,  
And so forsook the House of *Wallingford*.  
These Tidings soon occasion'd *Lambert's* Force  
To leave their needy Gen'ral and Disperse:  
That now again the Rump, without regard  
To the new Scheme the Bankrupt Saints prepar'd  
Before they broke, assembl'd in the House\*,  
And did the Pow'r Supreme once more ingross.  
But still the People's Hearts were so intent  
Upon a free and speedy Parliament,  
That this new sudden Change did not impede  
*Monk's* March to Town, because the Rump had need  
Of a good Guard to make themselves secure  
In their Resumption of the Sov'reign Pow'r;  
Therefore the wary Northern Gen'ral sent  
A Message to the Saints in Parliament,  
To let them know, that as he thought they were  
Unsafe at present he'd to Town repair,  
That with his Army he might awe their Foes,  
From off'ring any Insults to the House,  
Which they approving, thank'd him for his Care,  
And voted him a Thousand Pounds a Year.

The Gen'ral in his March now timely found  
The Bent and Temper of the Counties round,  
From whence Petitions e'ery Day were sent  
To meet him, praying a free Parliament.  
The Rump, to give his Army room in Town,  
Not doubting their old Friend, dislodg'd their own.  
The Gen'ral trusting no Man with his great  
Design, nor had he drop'd one Word as yet,

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\* December 26.



Whereby his Friends or Foes could understand,  
Or guess what mighty Work he had in hand.

*A.D.*  
1659.

No sooner was the Gen'ral come to Town,  
But the proud Senate thought the Day their own,  
Rowz'd up their Courage, to the City sent  
For Money, which the last Rump Parliament  
Had Levy'd as a Tax \*, which they refus'd,  
Thinking they had too long been hardly us'd ;  
And being now resolv'd upon a Free  
New Senate, would no longer bubbld be,  
To succour and support the Pride of those  
They found, too late, to be the Nations Foes.  
This vex'd the needy Rump, who, out of hand,  
Did, by an Order of their House, Command  
Their Gen'ral on the City Gates to seize,  
And pull 'em down, with their Portcullices ;  
Also to close Imprison certain Great  
And Leading Persons, who'd been obstinate :  
All which he fully did at last obey,  
Tho' not without Exception and Delay.  
The Grateful House, for which good Service done,  
Renew'd his General's Commission,  
Which being granted by the Rump before  
The Army Officers usurp'd the Pow'r,  
Was near expir'd, by which he only shar'd  
A Sixth of the Command ; a poor Reward  
For all the signal Service he had done  
Those Rebels, who'd subverted Church and Throne.  
But his Ambitious Masters found, too late,  
They'd been too Sneaking to a Man so Great.

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\* *A Hundred-thousand Pound a Month upon the Kingdom, for Six Months.*

A. D. 1659. The Gen'ral now, to please the City, sent  
 A Letter to his Lords the Parliament,  
 To let 'em know the Service he had done  
 Against the City, was against his own  
 Opinion, and reminded them how far  
 They'd serv'd the Parliament thro' all the War.  
*Which was indeed too true, for 'twas their Aid  
 That lost the King his Throne, and next his Head.*

But Rump was much too busy to regard,  
 The Sums the City for the Cause had spar'd,  
 Or to take notice of their Gen'ral's kind  
 Repentance of the Orders they'd enjoin'd,  
 Running full Speed to make themselves secure  
 Against all those that envy'd them the Pow'r,  
 Preparing Abjurations, with Design  
 For ever to exclude the Royal Line,  
 Renewing old Engagements that might bind  
 The Land to be of one Rebellious Mind ;  
 Also conferring with their City Friends  
 For Money to supply their present Ends.  
 On such like Projects they were too intent,  
 To rightly scan the Letter *Monk* had sent ;  
 Who thereupon desir'd that he might hear,  
 By a fair Conference, how Matters were  
 Between the Rump and Members, who had been  
 Long since seclud'd in their former Reign :  
 Accordingly the Parliament comply'd,  
 And Persons were appointed on each Side,  
 Such as both Parties could the best rely  
 Upon, to manage an Affair so high,  
 Who join'd at a fix'd time, and open'd all  
 Their Grievances before the General :  
 But what the Rumpers offer'd in defence  
 Of their Proceedings, was such poor pretence,

And

And with the Gen'ral bore so little Sway,  
 That the secluded Members got the Day;  
 So far, that *Monk* did with his Army move  
 Into the City, and to win their Love,  
 Did first for a Free Parliament declare,  
 And when he'd done march'd down to *Westminster*,  
 Did, *Vi & Armis*, to their Seats restore  
 Those Members who'd been long expel'd before:  
 That now the House were in the self-same State  
 As 'twas in Forty-One and Forty-Eight,  
 Compos'd of the same Men, excepting those  
 Whom Death had summon'd to their last Repose;  
 But were to these two hard Conditions Bound,  
 One to dissolve on *March* \*, a mortal Wound  
 To their ambitious Hopes; the next enjoin'd  
 The House to send out Writs e're they declin'd  
 Their Seats, in order that a speedy, free  
 And able Parliament might chosen be.  
 By these the Rump might easily foreknow  
 The fatal Minute of their Overthrow.  
 Yet now, as soon as *Calvin's* Zealots sway'd  
 The Senate, *Monk* was by that Party made  
 Chief General, and had the full Command  
 Of all the *English* Force by Sea and Land,  
 Took off the old Engagement, which was meant  
 To keep the *Presbyters* from Government,  
 As well as to exclude the Royal Side,  
 By rend'ring them for Trust unqualify'd;  
 So that 'twas only done to please their own  
 Good Saints, and not the Friends that lov'd the Throne;  
 For now in vain they did whate'er they cou'd,  
 To bar the King and all the Royal Blood,  
 And shew'd, by their Proceedings, they were bent  
 To fix the Sov'reign Pow'r in Parliament.

A. D.  
 1659.

\* the 17th.



A. D.

1659.

But some of the Rump Leaders who foresaw  
 That things did tow'rd a Restoration draw,  
 Tempted, by all the Arts they could invent,  
 The Gen'ral to accept the Government,  
 Chusing much rather, out of Fear or Spite,  
 To raise up some new Idol, than submit  
 To him who to the Rule alone had Right.

*So Heathens rather foolishly adore  
 The Gods they make, than the Almighty Pow'r;  
 Because whene'er the Images they frame  
 Disgust 'em they can scoff and burn the same.*

But the Brave Worthy was too wise by far,  
 To be trepan'd into the dang'rous Snare,  
 And chose, with much more Honour, to pursue  
 The Glorious Ends he justly had in view,  
 Such that might wash away his former Guilt,  
 And drown the Cries of Loyal Blood he'd spilt.

*So crafty Men, ambitious to be Great,  
 First kindle Broils and Discords in the State,  
 Then cheat their Country both of Wealth and Praise,  
 By conqu'ring Mischiefs which they help'd to raise.*

The End of the Eleventh Year.

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*from an Original Painting.*

*M. & C. Wright fecit*

*Gen.<sup>l</sup> GEORGE MONCK.*



A.D.

1659.

w

THE  
CHARACTER  
OF  
*General* MONK.

**D**Escended of an ancient Loyal Race,  
Who long had liv'd unspotted with Disgrace,  
In *Devon* County, where they held a fair  
Estate, sufficient for a frugal Heir  
Who'd spent his Youth in Foreign Wars, between  
The Haughty *Spaniard* and the *Dutch*, wherein  
He'd great Experience gain'd, with the repute  
Of b'ing a Skilful Officer of Foot.  
When first the Troubles in the *North* begun,  
Which soon thro' all the *British* Empire run,  
He left the *Flemish* Army and came o'er  
To *England*, where he serv'd the Sov'reign Pow'r,  
With all the Faith and Honour that became  
A Loyal Subject and a Man of Fame.  
No sooner had Rebellion rais'd her Head  
In *Ireland*, where such Crouds were Massacred,  
But Col'nell *Monk* was with Commission sent  
To Rule the Deputy's own Regiment;  
And in those Troubles, by his Conduct, won  
Much Honour, Praise, and Estimation:  
But when the *English* Parliament Rebel'd,  
And forc'd their Injur'd Prince to take the Field;  
He falsly was suspected to incline  
To th' Rebels, and to favour their Design:

But

A.D. But at *Nantwich*, soon after, he defy'd,  
 1659. With so much Brav'ry, the Rebellious Side,  
 W That none from thence could reas'nably suppose  
 He'd any Will to serve his Prince's Foes ;  
 For in that Battle he was Captive made,  
 And by the Rebels to the *Tow'r* convey'd,  
 Where, under rig'rous Usage, he remain'd,  
 Till his Great Master was himself restrain'd.  
 Then finding that the Royal Cause was lost,  
 And his own Hopes by his Confinement crost,  
 By *Cromwel's* Importunities was won,  
 To turn his Back upon the sinking Throne ;  
 And for the sake of Liberty and great  
 Preferment, that intoxicating Bait,  
 T'espouse the *Good-Old-Cause*, whose impious Side  
 He had before so zealously defy'd ;  
 For his Rump Lords did Wonders on the Seas,  
 Against their proud *Batavian* Enemies,  
 And was the Bane of *Trump*, who, to upbraid  
 The *English*, wore upon his Topmast-head  
 A Broom, to shew he was resolv'd to sweep  
 The *English* off the Surface of the Deep :  
 Preserv'd a faithful Amity with *Nol*,  
 Before and after he obtain'd the Rule ;  
 And was by him respected, as his best  
 Support, when he the Sov'reign Pow'r possess'd,  
 To awe and govern *Scotland* was employ'd,  
 Which Trust he held till after *Cromwel* di'd ;  
 Whose Int'rest, had he liv'd, it was believ'd,  
 His faithful Servant would have ne'er deceiv'd.  
 But when he'd lost his Friend, and found that all  
 Did into worse and worse Confusion fall,  
 He mix'd the Honest with the Cunning Part ;  
 And with great Secrecy and equal Art,  
 Espous'd the Cause of his excluded Lord,  
 And by the help of Providence restor'd

The Royal Wand'rer to his Throne in Peace,  
And the wrong'd Kingdom to its Happiness.  
A wondrous Act, that did enough atone  
For all the Friendships he to *Nob* had shown!  
And by excess of Merit wash'd away  
The former Stains that on his Honour lay,  
Binding his Prince, by Nature kind and good,  
To turn Forgiveness into Gratitude,  
Who, by proud Titles and a large Supply  
Of Riches, rais'd the Gen'rous Worthy high;  
In great Affairs the trusty Chief employ'd,  
And always call'd him Father till he di'd.

A. D.

1660.

*He that for sake of Liberty or Bread,  
Does oblique Paths against his Conscience tread,  
Will, when Occasion offers, change his Course,  
To shew the World he stray'd with some remorse.*



A.D.

1660.

The most

## Remarkable Transactions

Of the Twelfth Year of the Reign of

King CHARLES the Second,

Anno Dom. 1660.

**D**URING these lucky Changes, which forerun  
 The King's Redemption of his Royal Throne,  
 His Majesty, who then at *Brussels* lay,  
 Neglected nothing that might clear his way,  
 But by the Trusty'st of his Friends took care  
 Of all things needful in the Grand Affair;  
 Sent † *Greenvile* o'er, a Man of Truth and Sence,  
 In order to obtain a Conference  
 With Gen'ral *Monk*; which, after some Delays,  
 He gain'd, and manag'd wisely, to his Praise,  
 Return'd with speed, in private, as requir'd,  
 With such an Answer as the King desir'd;  
 Who was, by *Monk*, precaution'd to remain  
 No longer now within the Bounds of *Spain*;  
 But, for his better Safety, make his Way  
 From *Brussels*, to the Garison *Breda*,  
 That otherwise His Majesty would be  
 Detain'd by the *Hispanian* Ministry,  
 Which, as it after did appear, had prov'd  
 Too true, but that the King in time remov'd.

\* Sir John.

*Lambert*, and other Officers of Note †,  
Had put a new Commotion now on foot,  
And did with sev'ral Troops and Bands appear,  
Well arm'd at *Dav'ntry* in *Northamptonshire* :  
But, by the falseness of his Men was soon  
Subdu'd, and brought a Pris'ner up to Town  
By *Ingoldsby* and *Streater* ||, sent to crush  
The Malecontents, who would not stand one Push;  
But, without fighting, made themselves secure,  
By joining those who had the greatest Pow'r,  
That most of *Lambert's* Foot, as well as Horse,  
Surrender'd, or were Captives made by Force ;  
Himself, with Col'nel *Corbet*, and some more,  
By the State-Council being sent to th' Tow'r.

*Thus fell that Rebel Lambert, who, like Nol,*  
*Expected to have gain'd the Sov'reign Rule.*

The new Free Parliament which long had been  
Desir'd, did their first Session now begin \*,  
The Country having taken so much Care  
And Pains in their Election e'ery where,  
That few of the old Members could obtain  
Sufficient Int'rest to be chose again.  
Therefore, when thus the Commons were reform'd,  
And most Men with some Loyal Sparks were warm'd,  
The Gen'ral plainly found there now remain'd  
No Danger of the mighty Work in hand,  
But like a fearless Charioteer drove on,  
To win the Glorious Race he'd well begun,  
Receiv'd a new Commission from the King,  
Which *Greenwile* did, with sundry Letters, bring ;

† Haslerig, Axtel, Okey, Cleer, and *Corbet* the chief.

|| Two Colonels.

\* April 23.

A.D. One for the Gen'ral to communicate  
 1660. To th' Army, and another to the State \*;  
 With sev'ral more His Majesty had sent  
 To th' City, Navy, and the Parliament;  
 In which such kind Assurances were giv'n,  
 That fill'd the Readers with an inward Heav'n,  
 And did to e'ery Side secure much more  
 Than such a sinful Nation could implore,  
 That vile Rebellion wip'd her bloody Face,  
 And did her Cheeks with Loyal Patches grace;  
 Pull'd off her Crimson Weeds, and in disguise  
 Appear'd at once to all the World's surprize,  
 With Joy instead of Envy in her Eyes. }  
 That nothing now remain'd but to restore  
 Their Injur'd Monarch to his Sov'reign Pow'r,  
 That their intire Obedience might attone  
 For all the past malicious Wrongs they'd done;  
 The Parliament accordingly agreed  
 Their Lawful King should be proclaim'd with speed;  
 Which was perform'd with more than usual Pomp,  
 And Bonfires made at Night to roast the Rump,  
 Whilst Acclamations echo'd thro' the Sky,  
 And Crouds, to shew their Gladness, wept for Joy.  
 This done, Commissioners in haste were sent,  
 Both from the City and the Parliament,  
 T'attend the King; invite him to his Throne,  
 Which Choice, as well as Birth, now made his own.  
 This duteous Message chear'd the Monarch's Breast,  
 Who had so long been injur'd and oppress'd,  
 And fill'd the *Hague*, and all his banish'd Friends,  
 With Joy, that made their Suff'rings some amends.

\* The Council of State.



The King who had for Years so hardly far'd,  
 With pleasing haste for his Return prepar'd,  
 Embark'd for *England* \* with a Glorious Train  
 Of Princes, Lords, and Loyal Gentlemen,  
 On Board the *Naseby* did for *Dover* steer,  
 And the third Morning Landed by the Peer †;  
 Where *Monk* receiv'd the King with all the shews  
 Of Duty that an humble Friend could use;  
 And met with such Returns as must convince  
 The Gen'ral of the Goodness of his Prince.  
 From thence, as soon as *Dover* Town had paid  
 Their due Obedience, and a Present made  
 Of a rich Bible to the Royal Hand,  
 The King in publick Splendor pass'd by Land,  
 To *Kent's* Metropolis, there staid some Days,  
 Till Joyful *London* was in readiness  
 To give due Welcome to her Sov'reign Lord,  
 Whom Providence, by Wonders, had restor'd;  
 And then the best of Kings to Town repair'd,  
 With his Two Brothers, who abroad had shar'd  
 His Suff'rings; where, in Royal Pomp, he made  
 His Entry, loudly honour'd and obey'd:  
 The City seeming, by her Joyful Cries  
 And Gazing Crouds, half-built with Tongues and Eyes,  
 For Piles of Heads in e'ery House appear'd,  
 As if its Walls with gaping Skulls were rear'd,  
 All joining in one Chorus to express  
 Their Loyal Duty, Love and Thankfulness;  
 Whilst the King march'd in such Imperial State,  
 Attended with a Cavalcade so great

A. D.  
 1660.

\* Wednesday, May 23.

† May 25.

A. D. 1660. And pompous, that no Poet's Tongue or Pen  
 Can justly sing the Glories of the Train,  
 Or Words improv'd by humane Art display  
 The Gaudy Triumphs of that Joyful Day.

*Thus when the Saints had labour'd long in vain,  
 To build a Babel from a ruin'd Reign,  
 GOD with Confusion curs'd their sinful Ways,  
 And spoil'd the lofty Tow'r they hop'd to raise;  
 That when they'd waded through a crimson Flood  
 Of Loyal, Innocent, and Royal Blood,  
 Despair and Danger forc'd 'em to restore  
 The Son, whose Father they'd destroy'd before.*

The End of the Twelfth Year.

THE

A.D.

1660.

W

THE  
CHARACTER  
OF  
*King CHARLES the Second.*

A Prince of Mercy, whose Majestick Mien  
Display'd the Goodness that was lodg'd within,  
Yet not a *Cæsar* in the Days of old,  
When mighty Men were proud of looking bold,  
Could boast a Warlike Aspect that appear'd  
More awful, worthy to be lov'd and fear'd.  
No *Grecian* Statue, carv'd with greatest Art,  
Could to the Eye such symetry impart,  
Or in its strenuous Limbs and Muscles shew  
A joint Proportion, more exactly true  
Than that which Nature's kind judicious Dame  
Projected in the Monarch's Royal Frame.  
To these, the outward Graces of a Prince,  
Were added, Piercing Wit and Pow'rful Sence,  
Compassion, Bounty, Tendernefs of Blood,  
All that (excepting Chastity) were good:  
In that one Vertue we must own he fail'd,  
Tho' in so many others he excel'd.  
But if we look upon his Vice, that reigns  
So oft in Courts, with all its Circumstance,  
It must oblige Good-Nature to forbear  
His Failings, which indeed too Publick were,



A.D. 1660. And by the bad Example which he shew'd,  
 But had his Consort as Prolifick prov'd  
 As other Ladies whom the Monarch lov'd,  
 We might have ballanc'd, with a Lawful Race  
 Of Princely Sons, the number of the Base ;  
 Such as hereafter might have fill'd the Throne,  
 Instead of Strangers, to the Land unknown.  
 But 'twas a Blessing which the Royal Bride,  
 As 'twas ordain'd by Providence, deny'd  
 To a Rebellious Faction, who'd undone  
 The Father and pursu'd the Royal Son.  
 But his discerning Eyes discover'd all  
 Their Plots intended to effect his Fall,  
 And turn'd their Mischiefs on the daring Head  
 Of him by whom their ill Designs were laid ;  
 Pull'd down with ease what they with danger built,  
 And still preserv'd the Pow'r to punish Guilt,  
 Altho' his Mercy oft usurp'd the place  
 Of Justice, due to an offending Race,  
 And only curb'd their Malice when he saw  
 'Twas needful to exert the Fangs of Law,  
 Lest Publick Safety might endanger'd be,  
 By too much Mildness and Impunity.

*So prudent Parents exercise the Rod,  
 Less for their own than for their Childrens good.*

No Prince, in Times so difficult as those,  
 Wherein he reign'd beset with Factionous Foes,  
 Could with more Temper Rule a troubl'd Throne,  
 Or bear the Burthen of the *English* Crown  
 With such a chearful Mind that fearless stood  
 The Shock of e'ery threatning Storm that blow'd,  
 And from uneasy Apprehensions free,  
 Enjoy'd an undisturb'd Tranquility ;

As if his penetrating Eyes descry'd  
The Workings of their sly malicious Pride,  
Discern'd the Threads that thro' their Projects run,  
And cut 'em still as fast as they were spun;  
'Twixt *Scylla* and *Caribdis* safely steer'd,  
And neither Pope or Presbyterian fear'd :  
But found, in spite of all their plotting Schemes,  
A happy Medium 'twixt the two Extreams.  
No Wars, except the *Dutch*, and those were short,  
Eclips'd the peaceful Splendor of his Court :  
No want of Trade to make the Poor complain :  
No gauling Tax in his auspicious Reign,  
But that oppressive Trifle which the Saints  
Made the chief Cause of all their loud Complaints.  
In short, no thankless Kingdom could possess  
More happy Days, and yet enjoy 'em less :  
For surfeited with Wealth, and cloy'd with Ease,  
They slighted all the heav'nly Fruits of Peace ;  
And lab'ring at those Changes they have since  
Compleated, lost the Blessings of a Prince,  
Whose Reign, Obedience would have made alone  
The Golden Age, if ever such were known.

A.D.  
1660.

W

Several





Several ORIGINAL PAPERS  
which the Lord Clarendon  
refers to, here Printed at  
large.

*Some Account of Arminius and that  
Controversy.*

**J**acobus Arminius was born at Oudewater upon the Yffel, a Town of Holland, Anno 1560. He was sometime Beza's Scholar at Geneva. He travel'd to Padua to hear Zabarella, Professor of Philosophy there. Thence he return'd to Amsterdam, where he was made a Minister; and some time after Divinity Professor at Leyden: Here it was that he set up that which some People call *New Doctrine* concerning Predestination, tho' it had been held before by Melancthon, Nicolaus Hemingius, and many other Divines. The occasion was this: Martin Lydius, Professor of Divinity at Franeker, judg'd him a proper Person to answer a Writing of some Ministers of Delft, who oppos'd Beza's Doctrine of Predestination. Arminius undertook it; but as he examin'd and weigh'd the Reasons on both Sides, he went over to the Opinion which he should have Confuted, and even some Lengths farther than the Ministers of Delft. He held, That Predestination did not consist in any absolute, irrespective, eternal Decree of saving some Persons; which was Beza's Opinion: Neither upon the Supposition of Adam's Fall, to save some particular Persons, without any antecedent respect to our Saviour, as the Brethren of Delft believed. But his Scheme of Predestination was, That all those were predestinated to be saved, who being in a laps'd

Lord Clarendon  
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Condition, should resign themselves to the Call of God, believe in our Saviour, and live up to the Terms of the Gospel. He published several Tracts to defend his Opinion, as, *Declaratio Jacobì Arminii; Examen Libelli Perkinsii de Prædestinationis modo & ordine: Analysis cap. 9. ad Romanos: Dissertatio de vero sensu cap. 7. ad Romanos, &c.* He was brought into Trouble for his Opinion at *Amsterdam*, where he had been a Minister Fifteen Yecars; but the Authority of some Great Men, and his own eloquent Preaching supported him. He was summon'd several times to the *Hague*, and went thither to give an Account of his Doctrine. He died in 1609, in the 49th Year of his Age. He was a Person of considerable Learning, very regular in his Life, and obliging in his Conversation. Afterwards his Doctrine was Condemn'd in the Synod of *Dort*, and some of the principal Patrons of it seized, among whom *John Barneveldt*, Pensioner of *Holland* was put to Death, and *Hugh Grotius* was Imprison'd in the Castle of *Lovenstein*, where a great many other *Arminian* Ministers were confined.

The first Man who was publickly accused here in *England* for being an *Arminian*, was Mr. *Richard Mountague*, Canon of *Windfor*, and Fellow of *Eaton*, Rector of *Stamford Rivers*, and Chaplain in Ordinary to King *Charles I.* In the 21st Year of King *James I.* he published a Book call'd, *A New Gagg for an old Goose*, in answer to a Popish Book entituled, *A Gagg for the New Gospel.* For which he was then question'd in Parliament, upon a Suggestion that he had receded from some Doctrines of the Reformed Churches, and had too much softned some of the *Romish* Tenets.

The Cause being of dubious Points of Belief, was referr'd to Archbishop *Abbot*; who exprest his dislike of the Book, and gave the Author a solemn Admonition. Some other Bishops, who were called of the *Arminian* Party, had a different Notion of Mr. *Mountague's* Opinions, and encouraged him to reassert them, and defend them in another Treatise to be Dedicated to the King; and, as an Appeal to his Royal Judgment and Authority, to be entituled, *Appello Cæsarem.* *Abbot* disallowed the Book, and endeavour'd to suppress it: But the other Bishops attested their Approbation of it, and hasten'd the Edition.

When it came out, the House of Commons took notice of it, and appointed a Committee to examine into the Errors of it, and gave the Archbishop Thanks for his former Admonition to the Author; whose Books they voted to be contrary to  
the

the Established Articles, to tend to the King's Dishonour, and to the Disturbance of the Church and State. For this they assign'd him a time of Answer; and on *July 7. 1625.* he was brought to the Bar of the House of Commons.

The Bishops of *Rocheſter, Oxford, and St. Davids*, who had a kind Opinion of *Mr. Mountague* and his Writings, used all poſſible Endeavour to ſtop this Method of Proceeding; and knowing the Duke of *Buckingham* to have the greateſt Influence upon the King, they begg'd his Interceſſion in this Letter, dated *Auguſt 2.*

May it pleaſe your Grace,

**W**<sup>E</sup> are bold to be Suitors to you in the behalf of the Church of England, and a poor Member of it, *Mr. Mountague*, at this time not a little diſtreſſed. We are not Strangers to his Perſon, but it is the Cauſe which we are bound to be tender of. The Cauſe, we conceive, concerns the Church of England nearly. For that Church, when it was reformed from the Superſtitious Opinions broached or maintained by the Church of Rome, reſuſed the apparent and dangerous Errors, and would not be too buſy with every particular School-point.

Now, may it pleaſe your Grace, the Opinions which at this time trouble many Men, in the late Book of *Mr. Mountague*, are ſome of them ſuch as are expreſſly the Reſolved Doctrin of the Church of England, and thoſe he is bound to maintain. Some of them are ſuch as are fit only for Schools, and to be left at more liberty. And therefore to make any Man ſubſcribe to School-Opinions, may juſtly ſeem hard in the Church of CHRIST, and was one great Fault of the Council of Trent. And to affright them from thoſe Opinions in which they have (as they are bound) ſubſcribed to the Church, as it is worſe in itſelf, ſo may it be the Mother of greater Danger.

May it pleaſe your Grace further to conſider, That when the Clergy ſubmitted themſelves in the Time of *Henry VIII.* the Submiſſion was ſo made, that if any Difference, Doctrinal or other, fell in the Church, the King and the Biſhops were to be Judges of it in the National Synod or Convocation; the King firſt giving leave, under his Broad-Seal, to handle the Points in difference. But the Church never ſubmitted to any other Judge, neither indeed can ſhe, tho' ſhe would.



*And we humbly desire your Grace to consider, and then to move His Most Gracious Majesty, (if you shall think fit) what dangerous Consequences may follow upon it. For, First, If any other Judge be allowed in Matter of Doctrine, we shall depart from the Ordinance of CHRIST, and the continual Course and Practtice of the Church. Secondly, If the Church be once brought down beneath Herself, we cannot but fear what may be the next Stroke at it. Thirdly, It will someway touch the Honour of His Majesty's dear Father, who saw and approved all the Opinions of this Book. Fourthly, We must be bold to say, That we cannot conceive what use there can be of Civil Government in the Commonwealth, or of Preaching or external Ministry in the Church, if such fatal Opinions, as some which are opposite and contrary to these delivered by Mr. Mountague, shall be publickly taught and maintained. Fifthly, We are certain, That all or most of the contrary Opinions were treated of at Lambeth, and ready to be published: But then Queen Elizabeth, upon notice given how little they agreed with the Practtice of Piety and Obedience to all Government, caused them to be suppressed; and so they have continued ever since, till of late some of them have received Countenance at the Synod of Dort. Now this was a Synod of that Nation, and can be of no Authority in any other National Church, till it be received there by Publick Authority. And our hope is, That the Church of England will be well advised, and more than once over, before she admit a Foreign Synod, especially of such a Church as condemneth her Discipline and manner of Government, to say no more.*

*And further, We are bold to commend to your Grace's Wisdom this one Particular: His Majesty, (as we have been inform'd) hath already taken this Business into his own Care, and most worthily referred it, in a right Course, to Church Consideration. And we well hoped, That without further trouble to the State, or breach of Unity in the Church, it might so have been well and orderly composed, as we still pray it may.*

*These things considered, we have little to say for Mr. Mountague's Person; only thus much we know, he is a very good Scholar, and a right honest Man: A Man every way able to do GOD, His Majesty, and the Church of England great Service. We fear he may receive Discouragement; and (which is far worse) we have some Cause to doubt this  
may*



may breed a great backwardness in able Men to write in the Defence of the Church of England, against either Home or Foreign Adversaries, if they shall see him sink in Fortune, Reputation or Health, upon occasion of his Book. And this we most humbly submit to your Grace's Judgment, and Care of the Churches Peace and Welfare. So commending your Grace to the Protection of Almighty GOD, We shall ever rest at your Grace's Service,

Jo. Roffen. Jo. Oxon. Guil. Menev.

The Duke's espousing this Cause, and the King's reproving the House of Commons for meddling in it, did but more exasperate the adverse Party, who were now Enemies to *Mountague*, not as an *Arminian*, but as an Instrument of Arbitrary Power. And it was indeed the State Interest that gave the great Distinction to these School-Opinions. Those Divines who adhered to the more rigorous Opinions of *St. Austin*, *Calvin*, and the Synod of *Dort*, were at this time of the Country Party, in favour with the People, and with the prevailing Side in Parliament; so they established to themselves the Reputation of being Sound and Orthodox Protestants: While the other Divines, who went back to the Foundations of Religion, and to the import of the Scriptures, and to the Sense of the Primitive Fathers, in rejecting the hard Decrees of Reprobation, and in reconciling the Will of Man with the Grace of GOD; they were eminently of the Court Party, and Favourites of the King and the Duke. And under a Prejudice upon this Civil, more than Religious Account, they were charged with *Papery* and *Arminianism*, only to make them the more odious to the Common People.

The Cry against the *Arminian* Party was so popular, that many Divines were encourag'd to confute the Principles of *Mr. Mountague's* Book, and to represent them as False and Pernicious. In this Design *Dr. Sutcliff*, *Dr. Featly*, *Dr. Goad*, *Mr. Ward*, *Mr. Burton*, *Mr. Rowse*, *Mr. Yates*, *Mr. Wotton*, and even a Bishop of the Church, *Dr. Carleton*, engaged themselves. Their Writings served to heighten the Jealousies of the Wiser, and to confirm the Prejudices of the weaker Men. This was soon improved into such a universal Dislike of the dreadful Name of *Arminianism*, that even the King and the Duke begun to think it not safe to protect *Mountague*. *Bishop Laud*, who was his zealous Friend, was sensible of  
this,

this, and has enter'd it in his Diary thus: Jan. 29. Sunday. *I understand what D. B. had collected concerning the Cause, Book, and Opinions of Richard Mountague, and what R. C. had determined with himself therein. Methinks I see a Cloud arising and threatening the Church of England. God of his Mercy dissipate it.*

As soon as the Parliament began, Feb. 6. the Commons had an Eye upon Mr. *Mountague*, and resolv'd to call him to account. This rais'd the Curiosity of many Peers to understand what the Tenets were, and how they differ'd from the *Calvinistical* Opinions, which were commonly call'd the Doctrine of the Church, and were then the generally receiv'd Sense of the Articles of it. To this end a Conference was procured by the Earl of *Warwick*, to be held in the Duke of *Buckingham's* House, in the Presence of His Grace and many others of the Nobility, upon *Saturday, Feb. 11.* between Dr. *Buckeridge*, Bishop of *Rochester*, and Dr. *White*, Dean of *Carlisle*, on the Side call'd the *Arminian*; and Dr. *Morton*, Bishop of *Litchfield*, and Dr. *Preston*, Preacher of *Lincoln's-Inn*, on the other Side.

*Articles exhibited by the Commons against  
Richard Mountague.*

- I. **T**hat in his Books call'd, *The New Gagg*, and *The Appeal*, he maintains and affirms, *That the Church of Rome is and ever was a true Church, since it was a Church*: Contrary to the 16 Homily.
- II. *That the Church of Rome hath ever remained firm upon the same Foundation of Sacraments and Doctrine instituted by God*: In *The Gagg*: Contrary to Hom. 16, and to the 25 and 28 Articles.
- III. Speaking in *The Gagg*, of Faith, Hope, and Charity, he saith, *None of these are Controverted Points between Papists and Protestants*: Contrary to Article 19. And that *The Controverted Points are of a lesser and inferior Nature, of which a Man may be ignorant without any danger of his Soul at all: A Man may resolve to oppose this or that, without peril of perishing for ever*: Contrary to Article 31.
- IV. *That Images may be used for Instruction of the Ignorant, and Excitation of Devotion*: In *the Gagg*: Contrary to Homily the 2d.

V. In

- V. In his Book of *Invocation of Saints*, he affirms, That *Saints have not only a Memory, but a more peculiar Charge of their Friends*; and that it may be admitted, that some *Saints have a peculiar Patronage, Custody, Protection, and Power, as Angels also have, over certain Persons and Countries by special Deputation*; and that it is no *Impiety* so to believe: Contrary to Homily 2.
- VI. That *Men justified may fall away, and depart from the State which once they had; they may arise again, and become new Men possibly, but not certainly nor necessarily*: Contrary to the 17th Article. This is in the *Appeal*.

Some other Articles follow, which charge him with casting the odious Name of *Puritans* upon the *Calvinists*, &c.

This Business ended with the Dissolution of the Parliament, and a Proclamation for Calling in the Book, entituled, *Appello Casarem*. And in the Year 1627 this Mr. Mountague was made Bishop of *Chichester*.

In the same Year the Commons pretended to be under dreadful Apprehensions of *Arminianism*; they voted Dr. Neal, Bishop of *Winchester*; and Dr. Laud, Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, to be guilty of it: Accordingly they complain'd of them to the King. Mr. Rowse, Mr. Pym, and Sir John Elliot made bitter Speeches in Parliament upon this Subject. Which put the House into such a ferment, that they made this solemn Protestation.

*We the Commons in Parliament assembled, do claim, protest, and avow for Truth the sense of the Articles of Religion, which were established by Parliament in the 13th Year of our late Queen Elizabeth; which by the publick Acts of the Church of England, and by the general and current Expositions of the Writers of our Church, have been deliver'd unto us. And we reject the sense of the Jesuits and Arminians and all others, wherein they differ from us.*



Anno 1634. 10. Car. I.

Clarendon. **T**He Narrow Seas were at this time infested Vol.I. p.68. with Pirates of all the Neighbour Nations, and the *Dutch* began to challenge such a Right of Fishery, as would have robb'd the King of that Dominion which had been always claim'd and exercis'd by his Royal Ancestors. To carry on this new Pretention, they encourag'd their Learned *Grotius* to assert their free use of Shipping, in a Treatise stiled *Mare Liberum*; answer'd and sufficiently refuted by our excellent Antiquary Mr. *Selden*, in his *Mare Clausum*: Of which the Materials had been formerly collected at the Motion of King *James*, and were now put in Order, and, within a Twelve-month, published at the Command of King *Charles*.

The Design of *Grotius*, in his *Mare Liberum*, is to prove, That the *Dutch* have as much Right as the *Portugueze*, or any other People, to Trade to the *Indies*. To make this good, he lays down this fundamental Maxim, *That any one Nation or People may freely have Commerce and Dealings with another, by Navigation or otherwise.* This, he says, *the Voice of God and Nature proclaim.* For this he quotes several Writers and Lawyers, with whom he says it is a Rule, That no Prince or Republick has Power to prohibit others from Trading with their Subjects. From whence he concludes, That the *Portugueze*, tho' Lords of those Countries to which the *Dutch* Trade, would be Injurious, if they should hinder them, and stop their Traffick.

But he denies that the *Portugueze* have any Right of Dominion over the *Indians*, upon the Account of their being the first Discoverers, or by Vertue of the Grant of Pope *Alexander* the VI. or by Right of Conquest, or because they are in Possession. As for Conquest, he says, they have no Pretence to it; for when they demanded Free-Trade, the *Indians* admitted them without any Resistance. And for Possession, there is no such thing as Property in the Sea, but it is open and free for all; no Body can divide it by Limits and Inclosures: but every Body may Sail in it, and Fish in it; and if any Body could hinder the Publick of a considerable part of it, it would be a very wicked thing. Certain Nations may indeed agree among themselves to divide the Sea so, as that if any Side be taken out of their Bounds they shall suffer for it.

it. But others who never enter'd into such Agreement, cannot justly be taken and punished, wherever they are found to rove. Here he desires to be understood of the main Ocean, not of the Narrow Seas, which in some places scarce exceed the breadth of a large River: tho' 'tis certain the *Roman* Lawyers spoke of these, when they made those Noble Determinations against private Avarice.

Against this short Treatise, Mr. *Selden* has writ a large Answer, call'd *Mare Clausum*, by which he means (as he explains himself) A Sea own'd by a certain Prince or State as their Property, and so restrain'd by Law and Occupation, as that it is no longer common, but has a certain Lord and Master. In conformity to which Title he lays down these two Propositions. 1. That the Sea is not by the Law of Nature or Nations common to all Mankind, but is as capable of being set out and made a Property as the Land. 2. That His Most Serene Majesty of *Great-Britain* has an indefeasible and perpetual Property in the Sea which surrounds the *British* Isle, as an Appendage to his Dominions.

This being a large and weighty Work, we have room but very briefly to give the Contents of the Chapters.

I. The first Chapter contains a Scheme of the Work, and the Method of the First Book; for the whole is divided into Two Books.

II. Such Objections as may be made against the Dominion of the Sea.

III. How we are to understand the Word *Sea* in this Question: And what Parts of the Law are servicable to this Disquisition.

IV. Concerning Dominion universal, in things common to all; and particular, wherein some only have a Right.

V. Of the Nature of special Dominion: And what Consideration washad of the Sea in the ancient distribution of things.

VI. That the Divine Law contain'd in Holy Scripture, favours a special Dominion of the Sea. And that all that great Sea Westward of the Holy Land, or at least the best part of it, was particularly assign'd by GOD to the Territory of *Israel*, as the *Jewish* Lawyers affirm.

VII. That the Permissive Law of Nature (which is of use in this Case) is that which may be gather'd from the Customs and Practices of Nations which were of old, and are at this Day the most Polite and Civilized.

VIII. The Way of collecting the Permissive Law concerning the special Dominion of the Sea, out of the Customs of most Ages and People. That in the Fabulous Age there are plain Testimonies enough of such Dominion. By the way, notice is taken of the *Mediterranean* Sea of the *Romans*, the Command whereof was given to *Pompey the Great*.

IX. The first mention that occurs in good *Greek* History concerning the Dominion of the Sea, is that of *Minos* King of *Crete*.

X. Next after him there are reckon'd up about Seventeen Nations, partly *European*, partly *Asiatick*, who did severally, in their turns, Lord it over the *Syrian*, *Egyptian*, *Pamphylian*, *Lydian*, and *Ægean* Seas.

XI. Concerning the Dominion which the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians* claim'd at Sea; and how it was owned by the *Persians* as well as *Grecians* in a publick League.

XII. A Collection of other scatter'd Testimonies concerning the Dominion of the Sea, as they may be gather'd from the Oriental Customs.

XIII. Concerning the *Spinetæ* (People at the Mouth of the *Po*) who were many Years Lords of the *Adriatick* Sea; as the *Etrurians* were of the *Tuscan*, and the *Carthaginians* of the *Sicilian* and *African* Seas.

XIV. Of the Dominion which the *Romans* in ancient and later Times had at Sea.

XV. Of the Dominion which private Men among the *Romans* had at Sea.

XVI. Of the Dominion of the Sea according to the Usage of Nations at this Day. And first, Of the *Venetians* Right in the *Adriatick* Sea, the *Genoese* in that of *Genoa*, the *Tuscans* in the Sea of *Tuscany*, and the Bishop of *Rome* in that which lies upon his Territory.

XVII. Of some received Laws and Customs in *Spain* and *Portugal* relating to the Dominion of the Sea.

XVIII. How far the Dominion of the Sea is determined by the Laws and Ordinances of *France*.

XIX. The particular Dominion of the Sea according to the Customs and Claims of the *Danes*, *Norwegians*, *Swedes*, *Polanders*, and *Turks*.

XX. The Objection concerning freedom of Sailing for Merchants and Travellers, answered.

XXI. An Answer to the Objection against the special Dominion of the Sea, from the perpetual rowling and changing of



of the Waters, and the impossibility of distinguishing it by any material Bounds or Fences.

XXII. The same Answer enlarged.

XXIII. An Answer to some Authorities which have casually dropt from undesigning Writers, and are commonly objected against the Property of the Sea.

XXIV. The Determinations of some ancient and modern Lawyers against this Property, refuted.

XXV. The true and genuine Sense of the Emperor *Antoninus's* Answer to the Merchant *Eudamon*, complaining that he had been Shipwreck'd, and afterwards his Goods seized by the Excise-Officers; *I am Sovereign by Land, and the Law by Sea*: The vulgar reading of this Answer is corrected, and it is proved to contain nothing contrary to the Property of the Sea.

XXVI. The Objections of some famous Lawyers, particularly *Fernandus Vasquius* and *Hugo Grotius* are answered.

*The Contents of the Second Book.*

I. In this first Chapter is laid down the Matter and Method of the Book: with a Fourfold Division of the *British* Ocean.

II. Here it is prov'd, that the *Britains*, before the Invasion of the *Romans* under *Julius Cæsar*, were Lords of the Ocean that bears their Name, especially of the *South* and *East* Parts of it.

III. That the *Britains* were Lords of the *North* Sea, before they came under the *Roman* Yoke. And that the Sea and Land made up but one Body of the *Britannick* Empire.

IV. That when *Great-Britain* was conquer'd, under the Emperors *Claudius* and *Domitian*, the Dominion of the *British* Ocean follow'd the Fate of the Island.

V. Of the Dominion of the *Romans* in the *British* Ocean, from the Reign of *Domitian* to *Constantius Chlorus*.

VI. Of the Dominion of the *South* and *East* Sea, which went along with the Government of *Great-Britain*, from the Time of *Constantine the Great*, till the *Romans* wholly forsook this Island. And that it was all subject to the Lord of the *Saxon* Shore throughout *Britain*.

VII. A Refutation of their Notion, who think that the *Saxon* Shore, over which a Lord was appointed throughout *Britain*, was the *British* Shore or Coast of the Island itself.

VIII. Some Light concerning the *Britains* Dominion at Sea, from the Poet *Claudian*, and the Medals of *Antoninus Pius*.

IX. How their Dominion at Sea return'd to the *Britains*, when they were got clear of the *Roman* Government.

X. From the time that the *Anglo-Saxons* and *Danes* made themselves Masters of *South-Britain*, their Dominion in the Sea is to be concluded from the first Establishment of the *Saxon* Kingdom, and from their Forces and Sea-Victories.

XI. The same may be gather'd from the Tribute and Services of their Vassals which went to the Sea-Service. Here he takes occasion to speak of the Tax called *Danegelt*, which was paid for the Security of the Sea.

XII. The Testimonies of *Edgar* and *Canutus*, Kings of *England*, and others, very express, concerning their and their Predecessors Dominion at Sea; with a Word of those that inhabited the opposite Shore at that time.

XIII. Testimonies of the Authority of the Kings of *England* at Sea after the *Norman* Conquest.

XIV. That they were always Lords of all the Sea round about, is prov'd from the Records of the Admiralty-Office.

XV. This is further prov'd from the Taxes and Tributes which were us'd to be levied for the guarding and securing of the Seas.

XVI. Observations upon the Dominion of the *English* and *Irish* Seas, made from the Tenour and Variety of the Royal Patents, by which the Admirals are usually created.

XVII. It appears plainly from the Form of the Royal Patents, constituting the Lord High-Admiral of *England*, from ancient Times to this Day, That the Sea over which the King appoints him, is always bounded Westward with the Shores of *Aquitain*, *Normandy*, and *Picardy*.

XVIII. Of the Admirals of *France*, which is the opposite Shore; their Original, Nature, and Variety. That the Sea between *Britain* and *France* is not the Province of those Admirals; nor is any thing contain'd in their Commission prejudicial to the Maritime Power of the King of *England*.

XIX. The Dominion of *Jersey* and *Guernsey* and other Isles appertaining to the Crown of *England*, tho' they lie upon the Coast of *France*, is a clear Argument that this Sea has always been the Property of the *English*.

XX. As also the Letters in our Archives, which Foreigners have obtain'd from our Kings, for leave to pass over this Sea.

XXI. To which may be added, the Leave and Protection which is usually given by the Kings of *England* to Foreigners to Fish in this Sea.

XXII. The

XXII. The Laws and Terms which the Kings of *England* give to Foreigners, to behave themselves in this Sea peaceably and quietly one towards another, tho' otherwise they are at open War, shew their Dominion in it. Here he takes notice of several large Recesses in our Seas, called the King's Closets and Chambers. And of that singular Law of perpetual Truce in the Sea, about the Islands which lie upon the *Norman* Shore.

XXIII. Extracts of Publick Records in the Archives, where in the Dominion of the Sea is of old asserted to the Kings of *England*, and that both by the King himself and by His Houses of Parliament, in very express Words, and as if they had been studied with the greatest Deliberation; tho', in truth, they were but casual and accidental; which shews, that their Title was most certain and unquestionable.

XXIV. Of the Comments upon our Laws and known Customs, whereby it is either affirmed or taken for granted, that the King of *England* is Lord of the Sea.

XXV. Certain Testimonies of less moment, concerning this Dominion we are speaking of.

XXVI. That by ancient Custom, other Nations own the King of *England's* Dominion in the Sea, by striking Sail when they meet his Ships. And of two Edicts of the Kings of *France* about this Custom.

XXVII. The Acknowledgment which abundance of Neighbouring Nations made of the King of *England's* Power at Sea, in a little Tract that was published many Years ago, containing an Action prefer'd by them, together with the *English*, against *Reyner Grimbold*, the King of *France's* Admiral.

XXVIII. A Copy of the Libel exhibited by the several Nations as aforesaid, and the Authority of it.

XXIX. The King of *England's* Dominion in the Sea, was owned by the *Flandrians*, in an Embassy to our King *Edward* the Second.

XXX. A particular Discourse of our King's Property in the *Irish* and *Western* Sea.

XXXI. Of the King of *Great-Britain's* Power in the *Scotish* Sea, especially in the *East* and *North*.

XXXII. Of his Right in the great *Northern* Sea which runs among the Islands of *Denmark* and *Norway*. This Chapter concludes the Work: But there follows about a Sheet and a half of Additions to be inserted in the foregoing Chapters.



Clarend.  
Vol. I. p. 95.

**B**Ut the thing which mightily enflamed the Distempers and Discontents of the Nation, and brought an Odium upon the King and Clergy, was the Declaration for Recreations and Sports on *Sundays*, which was about this time republished by the King's Command, as appears by this Order to the Archbishop, 1633.

Charles Rex.

**C**anterbury, See that our Declaration concerning Recreations on the Lord's-Day after Evening-Prayer, be printed. And accordingly, on the 18th of *October*, this Year, it came forth in Print, and was to this effect:

That King *James* of Blessed Memory, in his Return from *Scotland*, coming through *Lancashire*, found that his Subjects were debarred from Lawful Recreations upon *Sundays* after Evening-Prayers, and upon Holy-Days: And he prudently consider'd, that if these Times were taken from them, the Meaner Sort, who labour hard all the Week, should have no Recreations at all to refresh their Spirits. And after his Return he further saw, that his Loyal Subjects in other Parts of his Kingdom did suffer in the same kind, tho' perhaps not in the same Degree: And did therefore in his Princely Wisdom publish a Declaration to all his Loving Subjects, concerning Lawful Sports to be used at such times, which was printed and published by his Royal Commandment in the Year 1618. in the Tenor which hereafter followeth.

Whereas, upon His Majesty's Return the last Year out of *Scotland*, he did publish his Pleasure touching the Recreations of his People in those Parts, under his Hand: For some Causes him thereunto moving, hath thought fit to command these his Directions then given in *Lancashire*, with a few words thereunto added, and most applicable to these Parts of the Realms, to be published to all his Subjects.

Whereas he did justly, in his Progress through *Lancashire*, rebuke some Puritans and Precise People, and took Order, that the like unlawful Carriage should not be used by any of them hereafter, in the prohibiting and unlawful punishing of his good People, for using their lawful Recreations and Honest Exercises upon *Sundays* and other Holy-Days, after the Afternoon Sermon or Service; His Majesty hath now found that two sorts of People, wherewith that Country is much infected, viz. *Papists* and *Puritans*, have maliciously traduced and calumniated these his just and honourable Proceedings:

ceedings: And therefore lest his Reputation might upon the one side (tho' innocently) have some Aspersions laid upon it; and that, upon the other part, his good People in that Country be misled by the mistaking and misinterpretation of his Meaning, His Majesty hath therefore thought good hereby, to clear and make his Pleasure to be manifested to all his good People in those Parts.

It is true, that at his first entry to this Crown and Kingdom, he was informed, and that too truly, that his County of *Lancashire* abounded more in Popish Recusants than any County of *England*, and thus hath still continued since, to his great Regret, with little Amendment, save that now of late, in his last Riding through his said County, hath found both by the Report of the Judges, and of the Bishop of that Diocese, that there is some Amendment now daily beginning, which is no small Contentment to His Majesty.

The Report of this growing Amendment amongst them, made His Majesty the more sorry, when with his own Ears he heard the general Complaint of his People; That they were barred from all Lawful Recreations and Exercise upon the *Sundays* Afternoon, after the ending of all Divine Service; which cannot but produce two Evils: The one the hindring the Conversion of many, whom their *Priests* will take occasion hereby to vex, perswading them that no honest Mirth or Recreation is lawful or tolerable in the Religion which the King professeth, and which cannot but breed a great Discontentment in his Peoples Hearts, especially of such as are peradventure upon the Point of turning. The other Inconvenience is, That this Prohibition barreth the Common and Meaner sort of People from using such Exercises as may make their Bodies more able for War, when His Majesty or His Successors shall have occasion to use them. And, in place thereof, sets up Tipling and filthy Drunkenness, and breeds a number of Idle and Discontented Speeches in their Ale-Houses. For when shall the Common People have leave to Exercise, if not upon the *Sundays* and Holy-Days, seeing they must apply their Labour and win their Living in all Working-Days?

The King's express Pleasure therefore is, That the Laws of this Kingdom and Canons of the Church, be as well observ'd in that County, as in all other Places of this his Kingdom. And, on the other part, That no Lawful Recreation shall be barred to his good People, which shall not tend to the Breach

Breach of the aforesaid Laws and Canons of his Church. Which, to express more particularly, His Majesty's Pleasure is, That the Bishops, and all other inferior Churchmen and Churchwardens, shall, for their Parts, be careful and diligent, both to instruct the Ignorant, and to convince and reform them that are misled in Religion, presenting them that will not conform themselves, but obstinately stand out, to the Judges and Justices: Whom he likewise commands to put the Laws in due Execution against them.

His Majesty's Pleasure likewise is, That the Bishop of that *Diocese* take the like strict Order with all the *Puritans* and *Precisians* within the same, either constrain them to conform themselves, or to leave the Country, according to the Laws of this *Kingdom* and Canons of this Church, and so to strike equally on both Hands, against the Contemners of his Authority and Adversaries of the Church. And as for his good Peoples Lawful Recreation, his Pleasure likewise is, that after the end of Divine Service, his good People be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any Lawful Recreation, such as Dancing, either Men or Women; Archery for Men, Leaping, Vaulting, or any other such harmless Recreation; nor from having of *May-Games*, *Whitson-Ales*, and *Morice-Dances*, and the setting up of *May-Poles*, and other Sports therewith used: So as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of Divine Service. And that Women shall have leave to carry Rushes to the Church for the decoring of it, according to their old Custom. But withal, His Majesty doth here account still as Prohibited, all Unlawful Games to be used upon *Sundays* only, as *Bear*, and *Bull-baitings*, *Interludes*; and at all times in the Meaner sort of People by Law prohibited, *Bowling*. And likewise bars from this Benefit and Liberty, all such known Recusants, either Men or Women, as will abstain from coming to Church or Divine Service, being therefore unworthy of any Lawful Recreation after the said Service, that will not first come to the Church and Serve GOD. Prohibiting, in like sort, the said Recreations to any that, tho' conform in Religion, are not present in the Church at the Service of GOD, before their going to the said Recreations. His Pleasure likewise is, that they to whom it belongeth in Office, shall Present and sharply Punish all such as in abuse of this his Liberty, will use these Exercises before the end of all Divine Services for that Day. And he doth likewise straightly Com-



Command, that every Person shall resort to his own Parish-Church to hear Divine Service, and each Parish by itself to use the said Recreation after Divine Service. Prohibiting likewise any offensive Weapons to be carried or used in the said Times of Recreation. And his Pleasure is, That this his Declaration shall be published by Order from the Bishop of the Diocese, through all the Parish-Churches; and that both the Judges of the Circuits, and the Justices of the Peace be informed thereof.

*Given at the Manour of Greenwich, the 24th Day of May, in the Sixteenth Year of His Majesty's Reign, of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the One and Fiftieth.*

Now, out of a like pious Care for the Service of God, and for suppressing of any Humours that oppose Truth, and for the Ease, Comfort, and Recreation of his well-deserving People, His Majesty doth ratify and publish this his Blessed Father's Declaration: The rather because of late in some Counties of this Kingdom, His Majesty finds, that under pretence of taking away Abuses, there hath been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary Meetings, but of the Feasts of the Dedication of the Churches, commonly called Wakes. Now His Majesty's express Will and Pleasure is, That these Feasts, with others, shall be observed; and that His Justices of the Peace, in their several Divisions, shall look to it, both that all Disorders there may be prevented or punished, and that all Neighbourhood and Freedom, with Manlike and Lawful Exercises, may be used. And His Majesty further Commands all Justices of Assize in their several Circuits, to see that no Man do trouble or molest any of his Loyal and Dutiful People, in or for their Lawful Recreations, having first done their Duty to GOD, and continuing in Obedience to His Majesty's Laws. And for this His Majesty commands all His Judges, Justices of Peace, as well within Liberties as without, Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables, and other Officers, to take notice of, and to see observed, as they tender his Displeasure. And doth further Will that Publication of this His Command be made, by Order from the Bishops, through all the Parish Churches of their several Dioceses respectively.

*Given at the Palace of Westminster, the 18th Day of October, in the Ninth Year of His Reign.*

GOD save the King.

*The*

*The Chief Heads of Mr. Pym's Speech concerning  
Grievances. Anno 1640. 16. Car.*

Clarendon. I Shall offer you a Model of the Grievances which  
Vol. I. I afflict the Commonwealth, and which have  
pag. 133. disabled us to administer any Supply, until they  
be redressed, and will still disable us; which  
Grievances may be reduced to Three Heads.

The *First* are those Grievances, which during these Eleven  
Years Interval of Parliaments, are against the Liberties and  
Privileges of Parliament.

The *Second* are Innovations in Matters of Religion.

The *Third*, Grievances against the Propriety of our Goods.

In all these, I shall take care to maintain the great Prero-  
gative of the King; which is, *That the King can do no  
Wrong.*

And *first*, I will begin with the Grievances against the  
Privileges and Liberties of Parliament.

*1st*, In that the Speaker, (the last Parliament the last Day  
of it) being commanded to put the Question, the House was  
commanded they should not speak.

*2dly*, In that the Parliament was then Dissolved, before  
our Grievances had Redress.

*3dly*, That the Judges presume to question the Proceedings  
of this House.

*4thly*, The several Imprisonments of divers Gentlemen,  
for speaking freely in Parliament.

*5thly*, That inferior Courts should be inform'd to punish  
Acts done in this Court, whereby several Members were Im-  
prison'd, and some died in Prison.

*Lastly*, (Which I conceive to be the greatest) that the Par-  
liament was punished without being suffer'd to make its own  
Defence. I call the Dissolution a Punishment.

The next sort of Grievances are those that concern Matters  
of Religion.

Wherein I will *first* observe the great Encouragement given  
to them of the Popish Religion, by a universal suspension of  
all Laws that are against them, and some of them admitted  
into Publick Places of Trust and Power.

There is an Intention of a *Nuncio* from the Pope, who is

to be here, to give secret Intelligence to *Rome*, how we incline here, and what will be thought fit to win us thither.

In order to this, Popish Books have been printed among us, and Disputations of Popish Points are, and have been used in the Universities, and preached in the Pulpit for sound Doctrine.

We have introduced Popish Ceremonies, as Altars, bowing towards the *East*, Pictures, Crosses, Crucifixes, and the like.

I shall observe the daily discouraging of all Godly Men, who truly profess the *Protestant* Religion.

I may not forget that many of the Ministers are Deprived for refusing to read the Book for Sports upon the Sabbath.

Then the encroaching upon the King's Authority by Ecclesiastical Courts, as the *High-Commission*, which takes upon it to Fine and Imprison Men, forcing them to take the Oath *ex Officio*. Divers particular Ordinaries, Chancellors, and Arch-Deacons take upon them to Make and Ordain Constitutions within their particular Limits.

I come now to the Grievances in our Goods, and in Civil Matters: The Heads are too many.

The taking of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, and divers other Impositions, without any Grant or Law for to do so.

Exacting of Fines for *Knighthood*.

Monopolies of Foreign and Native Commodities.

*Ship-Money*. Enlarging the Bounds of the Forest.

Compositions for publick *Nusances*.

*Military Charges* and Impositions upon Counties, by Letters only from the Council-Table.

*Extrajudicial Judgments* and Impositions of the Judges without any Cause before them.

The *Star-Chamber* made a Court of Revenue.

Dr. *Mainwaring* and others asserting the King's unlimited Power.

*Intermissions of Parliaments*, which, by two Statutes unrepeal'd, ought to sit once a Year.

Preferments of Ill-deserving Men.

I come now to the last thing, the remedy of these Grievances.

*First*, I advise to present them to the House of Peers, that they may join with us to go to the King, and pray that these Grievances, being clear in Fact, may be Voted; if any thing in the Vote be stuck upon, that it may be Debated and Drawn according



according to the Course of the House, into a Remonstrance, with an humble Petition of both Houses for Redress. And I hope the Wisdom of this House will prepare such a Remedy, as will make the King a great King, and the People Happy.

*The Vote which the House of Commons past, upon the Lords advising them to begin with a Supply.*

Clarend.

Vol. I.

pag. 134.

**R**esolved, That the Lords voting the propounding and declaring Matter of Supply in such sort as was contain'd in this Report, before it was moved from the House of Commons, was a Breach of the Privilege of the said House.

And the Commons, at a Conference with the Lords (which ensued upon this Occasion) desired their Lordships, in their Wisdom, to find out some Way for the Reparation of their Privileges broken by the Matter deliver'd at the last Conference, and to prevent the like Infringement for the future; and that the Lords would not take notice of any thing which shall be debated by the Commons, until they shall themselves declare the same to their Lordships; which the Commons shall always observe to their Lordships Proceedings.

Vol. I.

p. 148.

*May 29.* The Convocation having sate from the Dissolution of the Parliament, *May 5.* till this Day, they made in that time these Seventeen Canons.

- I. Concerning Regal Power.
- II. For the better keeping the Day of His Majesty's most happy Inauguration.
- III. For Suppressing the Growth of Popery.
- IV. Against Socinianism.
- V. Against Sectaries.
- VI. An Oath enjoin'd for the preventing of all Innovations in Doctrine and Government.
- VII. A Declaration concerning some Rites and Ceremonies.
- VIII. Of Preaching for Conformity.
- IX. One Book of Articles of Enquiry, to be used at all Parochial Visitations.
- X. Concerning the Conversation of the Clergy.
- XI. Chancellors Patents.
- XII. Chancellors alone not to Censure any of the Clergy in sundry Cases.
- XIII. Excommunication and Absolution not to be pronounced but by a Priest.

XIV. Con-

XIV. Concerning Commutations, and the disposing of them.

XV. Touching concurrent Jurisdictions.

XVI. Concerning Licenses to Marry.

XVII. Against Vexatious Citations.

### The Treaty at Rippon.

**T**HIS Treaty produced little or no effect, till Clarendon the 16th of October; on which Day these Vol. I. Articles were agreed upon for the Maintenance of pag. 155. the Scots Army.

I. That the Scotch Army now lying in Northumberland, Durham, and Newcastle, shall have, for a competent Maintenance, the Summ of 850 l. per Diem; and that the Payment thereof shall begin Octob. 16. and to continue for Two Months, in case the Treaty shall so long last; which Payment to be made Weekly, upon the Friday of every Week; the first Friday being the 23d Day, to be for the Payment of the Week past.

II. The Days of the returning of the Army to be number'd within the Days of the allow'd Maintenance.

III. That the Scotch Army shall content themselves with the aforesaid Maintenance, and shall neither molest Papists, Prelates, nor their Adherents, nor any other Persons of whatsoever Quality, during the time of Payment; but shall keep themselves free of all other Taxes and Plunderings, not only during their abode, but in their returns; and such Security as is usual, shall be given for the Performace of the same, and this to be order'd upon the Condition of the Treaty.

IV. That the Inhabitants of the said Counties shall also have liberty to return peaceably to their own Dwellings, and shall be refused no Courtesy, it being always presupposed that the fit lodging of their Army shall be allowed.

V. That the Army be furnished with Coals in a regular way, and not at the pleasure of the Soldiers, which is especially recommended to the Care of the Scotch Commissioners.

VI. That there be a Provision of Forage at the Prices to be set down in a Table, which must also contain the particular Prices of all sorts of Victuals, and other Necessaries for the Army, to be indifferently agreed upon by Persons nominated on both sides.

VII. That

VII. That the *Sea-Ports* be opened, and there be free Trade and Commerce by Sea and Land, as in the time of Peace; with this Proviso, that with the *Victuals* no Arms nor Ammunition be imported into Newcastle, or any Harbour of England; and this free Trade and Commerce to be presently intimated, and not to be interrupted; but upon the warning of Three Months, that there may be a sufficient time allowed for Ships to return, and for the disposing of their Commodities.

VIII. That *Victuals* and other Necessaries for the Army, be free of Custom; and that His Majesty's Custom of Coals and other Ware be left free to be levied by his own Officers.

IX. That all Restraints be removed, and that there be a freedom to furnish Necessaries for both Armies, in such sort as is agreed on by the Articles; and liberty be granted for Milling, Brewing, Baking, and other things of that kind.

X. That the Arrears be compleatly paid to October 16. and that such Rents as are anticipate, and not yet due, be allow'd in the Arrears.

XI. That there be a Cessation of Arms according to the Particulars to be agreed upon.

XII. As for securing the Summ of 850 l. per diem, above specified, there is a Committee appointed by the great Council of the Peers, who have Power to treat with Northumberland, the Bishoprick of Durham, Newcastle, and (if need require) with other adjacent Counties, that there may be a real Performance of what is agreed on by us: And, for that we find many Difficulties of raising the Contribution out of the Counties of Northumberland, the Bishoprick, and Town of Newcastle; we have thought fit and necessary to add unto them, the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland to assist towards the said Contribution, according to their abilities.

XIII. And further, the Lords will, before their going from York, settle a Committee, who shall have Charge to see the Contribution orderly raised and paid; and that there shall likewise be a Committee Nominated of the Lords Commissioners, to whom either the Scotch Commissioners may address, or the Committees of the Country may Weekly give an Account of the Carriage of the business. And that from thence there may further Order be given for the due Performance of that which is promised. Signed, &c.



In the Year 1633. *Feb. 7.* *Prynne* was Prosecuted in the *Star-Chamber*, for his Book call'd *Histrionic Mastix, The Players Scourge, or Actors Tragedy*, against Plays, Masques, Dancings, &c.

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Vol. I.  
p. 200.

That altho' he knew well, that his Majesty's Royal *Queen*, the Lords of the *Council*, &c. were, in their Publick Festivals and other times, present Spectators of some Masques and Dances, and many Recreations that were tolerable, and in themselves sinless, and so Published to be, by a Book Printed in the time of His Majesty's *Royal Father*: Yet Mr. *Prynne* in his Book hath railed, not only against Stage-Plays, Comedies, Dancings, and all other Exercises of the People, and against all such as behold them; but farther in particular, against *Hunting, Publick Festivals, Christmaskeeping, Bonfires, and May-Poles*; nay, against Dressing up of a House with *Green Ivy*. And, to manifest his evil and mischievous Design in Publishing of this Libel, he hath therein Written divers Incitements to stir up the People to Discontent, as if there were just Cause to lay violent Hands on their *Prince*. Mr. *Noy* the Attorney-General said: As for mentioning of Ceremonies, &c. of Dedicating *Paul's* to *Diana*; of the Discipline of the Church; the Complaint of New-erected Altars; I wonder what Altars he means: I hope the Church will examin him in due time; as also who he means by his *Modern Innovators* in the Church, and by cringing and duc-king to Altars, a fit Term to bestow upon the Church; he learned it of the *Canterers*, being used among them. The Musick in the Church, the Charitable Term he giveth it is, Not to be a Noise of Men, but rather a *Bleating of Brute Beasts*; *Choristers bellow the Tenor*, as it were *Oxen*; bark a *Counter-point*, as a *Kennel of Dogs*; roar out a *Treble*, like a sort of *Bulls*; grunt out a *Base*, as it were a number of *Hogs*. His Complaint for suppressing *Repetitions* by way of Conventicles; also his general Censure of all the Bishops, and of all the Clergy; *they scorn to feed the Poor*; *the Silk and Satin Divines*; very charitable Terms upon them of the Church! *Christmas*, as it is kept, is a *Devils Christmas*: Nay, he doth bestow a great number of Pages to make Men affect the name of *Puritan*, as tho' *CHRIST* were a *Puritan*, and so he saith in his *Index*. Then, concerning the Images in the Church, he speaketh against them, and putteth that now in Print, which was contain'd in an Answer in this Court. Also for the Sabbath-day, whether to begin on *Saturday-*

night, and end on *Sunday* at six of the Clock. I wonder what the Man means, to bring these Things under the Title of *Stage-Players*; *Pluralities* under the Title of *Stage-Players*. He had an end in it; he had an end in it. When all this is done, he invites Men to read *John Mariana* the *Jesuit*, and two grave Authors more, who, he saith, are not censured. Thus far Mr. Noy.

Then several Passages were read out of the Book; among which was this, p. 465. *Trebellius Pollio* relates, That *Martianus*, *Heraclianus*, and *Claudius*, three worthy Romans, conspired together to Murther *Gallienus* the Emperor, (a Man much besotted and taken up with Plays, to which he likewise drew the Magistrates and People, by his lewd example) as *Flavius* and others conspired *Nero's* Murther too, for the self same cause, &c. His calling the Persons who conspired an Emperor's Death (tho' a Wicked Emperor) three worthy Persons, was interpreted a Treasonable Expression.

A little after, *Prynn*, under Confinement, writ another Libel, and sent it to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; as appears from His Grace's Diary for the Year 1634, in these words:

*June 11. Wednesday*, Mr. *Prynn* sent me a Letter about his Censure in the *Star-Chamber*, for his *Histrion-Maskix*, and what I said in that Censure; in which he hath many ways Mistaken me, and spoken untruth of me.

*June 16.* I shew'd this Letter to the King, and, by his command, sent it to Mr Attorney *Noy*.

*June 17.* Mr. Attorney sent for Mr. *Prynn* to his Chamber, shewed him the Letter, asked him whether it were his Hand? Mr. *Prynn* said he could not tell, unless he might read it; the Letter being given into his Hand, (and Mr. Attorney going to his Closetool, needing a Paper for that purpose) he tore it in small pieces and threw it out at a Window, fearing, it seems, an ore tenus.

For this, *June 18.* Mr. Attorney brought him into the *Star-Chamber*, where all this appear'd; I there forgave him. Thus far the Archbishop.

In the Year 1637. *June 14.* *Prynn* was Prosecuted again in the *Star Chamber*, for Publishing a Libel, call'd, *News from Ipswich*, intended chiefly against Dr. *Wrenn*, Bishop of *Norwich*, who then lived in *Ipswich*. But he fell scandalously foul on the Archbishop himself, and some of the other Bishops. He descants on the Archbishop, with his *Arch-Piety*

*Piety, Arch-Charity, Arch-Agent for the Devil, &c.* And he calls the Bishops in general, *Luciferian Lord Bishops, execrable Traytors, devouring Wolves, &c.* with many other odious names not fit to be used by a Christian.

When he came upon his Trial, his Answer was so full of Scandal, that no Counsellor could be found to put his Hand to it, according to the Course of that Court. So that, instead of an Answer, he exhibited a Cross-Bill against the Archbishop and his Confederates, (as he call'd them) charging them with the greatest part of those Reproaches which had been made the subject-matter of his former Libels: Which being signed by no Hands but his own, the Charge was taken by the Lord-Keeper *pro confesso*. And so, June 14, he received his Sentence, which was, *To be fined 5000 l. to the King, to lose what remain'd of his Ears (since his suffering for his Histrio-Mastix) in the Pillory, to be branded in both Cheeks, with the letters, S. L. for a Schismatical Libeller, and to be perpetually Imprison'd in Carnarvan-Castle.* At the pronouncing of which Sentence, the Archbishop made a long and elaborate Speech, (to be seen in *Rushworth*, Vol. III. Append. p. 116.) in vindication of himself and the rest of the Bishops, from any Design to bring in Popery, or innovating in the Government and Forms of Worship. On the 30th of the said Month, the Lords Censure was put in Execution in the *Palace-Yard at Westminster*.

At the same time and place, were tried *John Bastwick*, Doctor of Physick, and *Henry Burton*, Bachelour of Divinity, Minister of *St. Matthews Church in Friday-Street London*, for the like offence of framing and publishing Libels against the Hierarchy of the Church, and to the scandal of the Government.

*Bastwick* has writ three Tracts in Latin. The first he calls, *Elenchus Papisticæ Religionis*, A Retutation of Popery. The second, *Flagellum Pontificis & Episcoporum Latialium*, A Scourge for the Pope and the Romish Bishops. The third, *Ad Præfules Anglicanos*, An Apology to the English Prelates, with a virulent Litany against the *High-Commission Court*. It appears, that he was Tried and Censured for spiteful Invectives against the Bishops, with which his Writings abound: For, in his Answer to the Charge, he undertook to maintain, That the Prelates were Invaders of the King's Prerogative Royal, Contemners and Despuers of



the whole Scriptures, advancers of Popery, Superstition, Idolatry, and Profaneness; also that they abused the King's Authority to the oppression of his Loyal Subjects, and therein expressed great Cruelty, Tyranny, and Injustice; and in the execution of this Impious Performance, they shew'd neither Wit, Honesty, nor Temperance, nor were they either Servants of GOD or of the King (as they ought to be indeed) but of the Devil, being Enemies of GOD and the King, and of every living thing that is good. These were *Bastwick's* Assertions.

*Burton* had Preached a Sermon on the 5th of November, at his Parish-Church in *Friday-Street*, in which he Insinuated, that there were *some dangerous Plots in hand, to change the Orthodox Religion, established in England, and to bring in Romish Superstition in the room of it.* He likewise charged the Bishops with introducing several Innovations into Divine Worship: As,

1. *In the Epistle the Sunday before Easter, they had put out In, and made it, At the name of JESUS every knee shall bow: Which Alteration, he said, was directly against the Act of Parliament.*

2. *That two places are changed in the Prayers set forth for the fifth of November, and order'd to be read by Act of Parliament. The first place is changed thus, from Root out that Babylonish and Antichristian Sect, which say of Jerusalem, &c. into this Form of Words, Root out that Babylonish and Antichristian Sect (of them) which say, &c. The second place went thus in the old: Cut off these Workers of Iniquity, whose Religion is Rebellion. But in the Book Printed 1635 it is thus altered; Cut off those Workers of Iniquity, who turn Religion into Rebellion, &c.*

3. *That the Prayer for the Navy is left out of the late Book for the Fast.*

4. *That the second Service, as dainties, must be said at the Communion Table, or the Altar.*

5. *That it is an Innovation to Bow or do Reverence at our first coming into the Church, or at our nearer approaches to the Holy Table.*

6. *That the placing of the Holy Table Altarwise at the upper end of the Chancel, and setting of it North and South, and placing a rail before it, is done to advance and usher in Popery.*

This *Burton* proved afterwards a rigid Independent.

*A Declaration of some Ministers, and Petition of some Citizens, against the Government of the Church by Bishops.*

To the Right Honourable, the Commons House of Parliament,  
The Humble Petition of many of His Majesty's Subjects in  
and about the City of London, and several Counties of  
the Kingdom,

Sheweth,

**T**hat whereasthe Government of Archbishops  
and Lord Bishops, Deans and Arch-Deacons,  
Etc. with their Courts, and Ministrations in  
them, have proved prejudicial and very dange-  
rous both to the Church and Commonwealth, they  
themselves having formerly held, That they have  
their Jurisdiction or Authority, of human Au-  
thority; till of these latter times being further pressed a-  
bout the unlawfulness, that they have claimed their calling  
immediately from the Lord JESUS CHRIST, which is  
against the Laws of this Kingdom, and derogatory to his  
Majesty and his State Royal: And whereas the said Go-  
vernment is found by Woful Experience, to be a main  
cause and occasion of many foul Evils, Pressures, and Grie-  
vances of a very high nature, unto His Majesty's Subjects,  
in their own Consciences, Liberties, and Estates, as in a  
Schedule of particulars hereunto annexed, may in part ap-  
pear.

Clarendon  
Vol. I.  
p. 203.

Presented  
Decem. 11.  
1640.

We therefore most humbly pray and beseech this Honourable Assembly, the Premises considered, That the said Government, with all its Dependencies, Roots and Branches, may be abolished, and all Laws in their behalf, made void, and the Government, according to GOD's Word, may be rightly placed amongst us. And we your humble Suppliants, as in Duty we are bound, will daily pray for His Majesty's long and happy Reign over us, and for the prosperous success of this High and Honourable Court of Parliament.

Then follows a Schedule of 28 Grievances, to be seen in  
Rushworth, Vol. V. p. 93. with other Petitions against  
Bishops.

*A Bill for a Triennial Parliament, entituled, An Act for preventing of Inconveniencies happening by the long Intermiſſion of Parliaments.*

THE Preamble ſets forth, That by the Laws of this Realm, a Parliament ought to be holden at leaſt once every Year.

It is enacted, That the ſaid Laws be duly kept; and that, if there be not a Parliament ſummon'd by Writ under the Great Seal, and aſſembled before the 10th of *September*, which ſhall be in the third Year next after the laſt day of the laſt Sitting of this preſent Parliament, (the beginning of the firſt Year to be accounted from the ſaid laſt day of ſitting, and ſo from time to time) that then the Parliament ſhall aſſemble at *Westmiſter*, by ſuch means as is hereafter enacted, on the ſecond *Monday* in *November* then next enſuing. And if this or any other Parliament ſhall be prorogued or adjourned until the 10th day of *September*, which ſhall be in the third Year next after the laſt day of the laſt ſitting of the Parliament; that then every ſuch Parliament, ſo prorogued or adjourned, ſhall, from the ſaid 10th of *September*, be clearly and abſolutely *Diſſolved*; and the Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, ſhall, within ſix days after the ſaid 10th of *September*, without any further Warrant from His Maſteſty, &c. iſſue forth Writs to the Peers, commanding them to be at the Parliament at *Westmiſter*, on the ſecond *Monday* in *November* next following the ſaid 10th of *September*; and ſhall alſo ſend Writs to the Sheriffs of all the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs of *England*, &c. for electing of the Knights, &c. to appear and ſerve in the ſaid Parliament. And every Lord Chancellor, Keeper, or Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, ſhall, at the entering upon their Office, take the following Oath, viz. *You ſhall ſwear, That you ſhall truly and faithfully iſſue forth and ſend abroad all Writs of Summons to Parliament, for both Houſes, at ſuch time, and in ſuch manner, as is expreſſed and enjoined by an Act of Parliament, entituled, An Act for preventing of Inconveniencies, &c.* And if the Lord Chancellor, Keeper, or Commiſſioners fail to iſſue out Writs, then they ſhall forfeit their Places, and be liable to ſuch further Punishments, as ſhall be inflicted by the next, or any other enſuing Parliament. And the Peers of  
this



this Realm shall meet in the old Palace of *Westminster* on the third *Monday* in *November*; and they, or any twelve of them, shall, before the last *Monday* in *November*, issue Writs in the King's Name for a Parliament to be holden at *Westminster*, the third *Monday* in *January* then next following.

And if the said Lords, or any twelve of them, shall fail to issue forth such Writs, then the Parliament shall Assemble on the second *Tuesday* in *March* next after; and the Lords that shall not appear, shall be liable to such Pains and Censures as if they had been summon'd by Writ, and to such further Pains as their Peers in Parliament shall adjudge.

And the Sheriffs, &c. shall, at the several Courts and Places to be held and appointed for their respective Counties, &c. next after the 23d day of *January*, cause Knights and Burgesses to be chosen as usual. And if any of the Sheriffs, &c. shall not begin the Election before ten a Clock in the forenoon of the day appointed for it, then the Freeholders, &c. shall forthwith proceed to Election.

And the Sheriffs, &c. shall after the said 23d Day of *January*, and before the 8th of *February* following, send forth their Precepts to the Cities and Boroughs, to make their Elections, which, if the Sheriffs neglect to do, the Freeholders shall, of their own accord, proceed to Election.

And no Parliament shall be dissolved or prorogued within fifty days, at least, after the time appointed for their Meeting; nor be adjourned till they have sat fifty Days at least, unless it be by their own Consent.

### *Matters relating to the Earl of Strafford's Trial.*

The Names of the Members of the House of Clarendon  
Commons, appointed to manage the Evidence against him. Vol. I.  
p. 214.

George Lord Digby.

John Hamden, Esq;

John Pym, Esq;

Oliver St. John Esq; shortly  
after Solicitor General to  
King Charles I.

Sir Walter Earl, Knight.

Geofrey Palmer, afterwards  
Knighted, and made At-

torney-General to King  
Charles II.

John Maynard, Esq; after-  
wards Serjeant at Law to  
King Charles II.

John Glyn, Esq; Recorder of  
London, afterwards sworn  
one of the Council to King  
Charles II.

*The Bill of Attainder of the Earl of Strafford.*

Pag. 226.

**W**<sup>1</sup>Hereas the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons, in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, have, in the name of themſelves, and of all the Commons of *England*, impeached *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*, of High Treason; for endeavouring to ſubvert the ancient and fundamental Laws and Government of His Maſteſty's Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, againſt Law, in the ſaid Kingdoms, and for exerciſing a Tyrannous and Exorbitant Power over and againſt the Laws of the ſaid Kingdoms, and the Liberties, Eſtates, and Lives of His Maſteſty's Subjects; and likewise having, by his own Authority, commanded the Laying and Aſſeſſing of Soldiers, upon His Maſteſty's Subjects, in *Ireland*, againſt their Conſents, to compel them to Obey his unlawful Summons, and Orders made upon Paper Petitions, in Cauſes between Party and Party, which accordingly was executed upon divers of His Maſteſty's Subjects, in a Warlike manner, within the ſaid Realm of *Ireland*; and in ſo doing, did levy War againſt the King's Maſteſty, and his Liege People in that Kingdom: And alſo for that he, upon the Unhappy Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, did ſlander the Houſe of Commons to His Maſteſty, and did Counſel and Adviſe His Maſteſty, that *He was looſed and abſolved from the Rule of Government, and that he had an Army in Ireland, by which he might reduce this Kingdom*: For which he deſerves to undergo the Pains and Forfeitures of High Treason.

And the ſaid Earl hath been an Incendiary of the Wars between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*; all which Offences have been ſufficiently proved againſt the ſaid Earl upon his Impeachment.

Be it therefore enacted by the Kings moſt excellent Maſteſty, and by the Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, That the ſaid Earl of *Strafford*, for the heinous Crimes and Offences aforeſaid, ſtand, and be adjudged and attainted of High Treason, and ſhall ſuffer ſuch Pain of Death, and incurr the Forfeitures of his Goods and Chattels, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments of any Eſtate of Freehold, or Inheritance in the ſaid Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, which the ſaid Earl, or any other to his uſe, or in  
truſt

trust for him, have, or had, the day of the first sitting of this Parliament, or at any time since. *Provided*, that no Judge or Judges, Justice or Justices whatsoever, shall adjudge or Interpret any act or thing to be Treason, nor hear or determine any Treason in any other manner than he or they should or ought to have done before the making of this Act; and as if this Act had never been had or made. Saving always, unto all and singular Persons, Bodies Politick and Corporate, their Heirs and Successors, others than the said Earl and his Heirs, and such as Claim from, by, or under him, all such Right, Title, and Interest of, in, and to, all and singular such of the said Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, as he, they, or any of them, had before the first day of this present Parliament, any thing herein contain'd to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Names of the *Straffordians*.

|                          |                              |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| The Lord Digby.          | Mr. Trevanyon.               |
| Lord Compton.            | Mr. Jeane.                   |
| Lord Buckhurst.          | Mr Edgcombe.                 |
| Sir Robert Hatton.       | Mr. Benj. Weston.            |
| Sir Thomas Fanshaw.      | Mr. Selden.                  |
| Sir Edward Alford.       | Mr. Alford.                  |
| Nicolas Slanning.        | Mr. Lloyd.                   |
| Sir Thomas Danby.        | Mr. Herbert.                 |
| Sir George Wentworth.    | Captain Digby.               |
| Sir Peter Wentworth.     | Serjeant Hyde.               |
| Sir Fredrick Cornwalis.  | Mr. Taylor.                  |
| Sir William Carnaby.     | Mr. Richard Weston.          |
| Sir Richard Wynn.        | Mr. Griffith.                |
| Sir Gervas Clifton.      | Mr. Scawen.                  |
| Sir William Withrington. | Mr. Bridgman.                |
| Sir William Pennyman.    | Mr. Fettyplace.              |
| Sir Patrick Carwin.      | Doctor Turner.               |
| Sir Richard Lee.         | Captain Charles Price.       |
| Sir Henry Slingsby.      | Doctor Parry, a Civilian.    |
| Sir William Portman.     | Mr. Richard Arundel.         |
| Mr. Gervas Hollis.       | Mr Newport.                  |
| Mr. Sydney Godolphin.    | Mr. Nowel.                   |
| Mr. Cook.                | Mr. Chichley.                |
| Mr. Coventry.            | Mr. Mallory.                 |
| Mr. Kirton.              | Mr. Porter.                  |
| Mr. Pollard.             | Mr. White, Secretary to E.D. |
| Mr. Price.               | Mr. Warwick.                 |



*Reasons for a Bill to take away Bishops Votes in Parliament.*

p. 234, and 1. **B**Ecause it is a great hindrance to their Ministerial Function.  
p. 302.

2. Because, when they enter into Holy Orders, they vow that they will give themselves wholly to that Vocation.

3. Because Councils and Canons in several Ages, do forbid them to meddle in secular Affairs.

4. Because the twenty-four Bishops have Dependence on the two Archbishops, and swear Canonical Obedience to them.

5. Because they are but for their Lives, and therefore are not fit to have Legislative Power over the Honours, Inheritance, Persons, and Liberties of others.

6. Because of Bishops dependency and expectancy of Translation to Places of greater Profit.

7. That the several Bishops have of late much encroached upon the Consciences and Liberties of the Subject; and they and their Successors will be much encouraged still to encroach; and the Subject will be much discouraged from complaining against such encroachment, if twenty-six of that Order be to be Judges upon that Complaint. The same Reason extends to their Legislative Power, in any Bill to pass for the Regulation of that Power, upon any emergent Inconveniency by it.

8. Because the whole number of them are interested to maintain the Jurisdiction of Bishops; which hath been found so grievous to the three Kingdoms, that *Scotland* hath utterly abolished it.

9. Because the Bishops being Lords of Parliament, it setteth too great a distance between them and the rest of their Brethren in the Ministry; which occasioneth Pride in them, Discontent in others, and Disquiet in the Church. And as to their having Votes a long time, the answer is, if it be inconvenient, Time and Usage are not to be consider'd with Law-makers: Some Abbots Voted as anciently in Parliaments as Bishops, yet are taken away.

Resolved,

Resolved, that all Deans, Deans and Chapters, p. 237.  
Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Chanters, Canons,  
and Petty-Canons, and their Officers, shall be utterly abolisht  
and taken away out of the Church.

That all the Lands taken by this Bill, from Deans and  
Chapters, shall be employ'd to the advancement of Learning  
and Piety, Provision being had and made, that His Majesty  
be no looser in his Rents, First-fruits, and other Duties; and  
that a Competent Maintenance shall be made to the several  
persons concerned, if such persons appear not peccant and  
Delinquents to this House.

*The Earl of Strafford's Letter to the King to pass  
the Bill of Attainder.*

*May it please your Sacred Majesty,*

**I**T has been my greatest Grief, in all these Trou- p. 258.  
bles, to be taken as a person who should endea-  
vour to represent and set things amiss between your Maje-  
sty and your People, and to give Councils tending to the  
disquiet of the three Kingdoms.

Most true it is, that (this mine own private Condition con-  
sider'd) it had been a great madness (since, thro' your graci-  
ous Favour, I was so provided) as not to expect in any kind  
to mend my Fortune or please my Mind more, than by rest-  
ing where your bounteous Hands had placed me.

Nay, it is most mightily mistaken; for, unto your Ma-  
jesty it is well known, my poor and humble Advices conclu-  
ded still in this, That your Majesty and your people could  
never be happy, till there were a right understanding betwixt  
you and them; and that no other means were left to effect  
and settle this Happiness, but by the Counsel and Assent of  
your Parliament; or to prevent the growing Evils of this  
State, but by an intire putting yourself in this last Resort,  
upon the Loyalty and good Affections of your *English* Sub-  
jects.

Yet such is my Misfortune, that this Truth findeth little  
credit; yea the contrary seemeth generally to be believed,  
and myself reputed as one who endeavoured to make a Sepa-  
ration between you and your people. Under a heavier Cen-  
sure than this, I am perswaded, no Gentleman can suffer.

Now,

Now, I understand, the Minds of Men are more and more incenied against me, notwithstanding your Majesty hath declared, that, in your Princely Opinion, I am not guilty of Treason, and that you are not satisfied in your Conscience to pass the Bill.

This brings me in a very great Streight; there is before me the ruine of my Children and Family, hitherto untouch'd in all the Branches of it, with any foul Crime; here are before me the many Ills which may befall your sacred Person, and the whole Kingdom, should yourself and Parliament part less satisfied one with the other, than is necessary for the Preservation both of King and People. Here are before me, the things most valued, most feared by Mortal Men, *Life or Death*.

To say, Sir, that there hath not been a Strife in me, were to make me less Man, than, GOD knows, my Infirmities make me; and to call a Destruction upon myself, and young Children (where the Intentions of my Heart, at least, have been Innocent of this great Offence) may be believed, will find no easy consent from Flesh and Blood.

But, with much Sadness, I am come to a Resolution of that, which I take to be best becoming me, and to look upon it as that which is most principal in itself, which, doubtless, is the Prosperity of your sacred Person, and the Commonwealth, things infinitely before any private Man's Interest.

And therefore, in few words, as I put myself wholly upon the Honour and Justice of my Peers, so clearly, as to wish your Majesty might please to have spared that Declaration of yours on *Saturday* last, and intirely to have left me to their Lordships; so now, to set your Majesty's Conscience at Liberty, I do most humbly beseech your Majesty, for Prevention of Evils which may happen by your Refusal to pass this Bill, and, by this means, to remove (praised be GOD) I cannot say this accursed, but I confess, this unfortunate thing, forth of the way towards that blessed Agreement, which GOD, I trust, shall ever Establish between you and your Subjects.

Sir, my Consent shall more acquit you herein, to GOD, than all the World can do besides: To a willing Man there is no Injury done; and, as, by GOD's Grace, I forgive all the World, with a calmness and meekness of Infinite Contentment to my dislodging Soul, so, Sir, to you I can give the Life of this World, with all the cheerfulness imaginable, in  
the



the Just acknowledgment of your exceeding Favours ; and only beg, that in your Goodness you would vouchsafe to cast your gracious Regard upon my poor Son, and his three Sisters, lels or more, and no otherwise than as their (in present) unfortunate Father, may hereafter appear more or less guilty of this Death. GOD long preserve your Majesty.

*Tower, May*  
4. 1641.

Your Majesty's most faithful and  
humble Subject and Servant,

*Strafford.*

*The Earl of Strafford's Speech on the Scaffold.*

**M**y Lord *Primate* of *Ireland*, and my Lords, p. 259.  
and the rest of these noble Gentlemen, it is a great Comfort to me to have your Lordships by me this Day, because I have been known to you a long time ; and now I desire to be heard a few Words.

I come here, my Lords, to pay my last Debt to Sin, which is Death ; and, thro' the Mercies of GOD, to rise again to Eternal Glory.

My Lords, if I may use a few Words, I shall take it as a great Courtesy from you : I come here to submit to the Judgment that is passed upon me ; I do it with a very quiet and contented mind ; I do freely forgive all the World, a forgiveness not from the Teeth outward (as they say) but from my Heart ; I speak in the presence of Almighty GOD, before whom I stand, that there is not a displeasing Thought that ariseth in me against any Man : I thank GOD, I say, truly, my Conscience bears me witness, that in all the Honour I had to serve His Majesty, I had not any Intention in my Heart, but what did aim at the joint and individual prosperity of the King and his People, altho' it be my ill hap to be misconstrued, I am not the first Man that hath suffered in this kind : It is a common portion that befalls Men in this Life : Righteous Judgment, that shall be hereafter : Here we are subject to error and misjudging one another.

One thing I desire to be heard in, and do hope that, for Christian Charity's sake, I shall be believed : I was so far from being against Parliaments, that I did always think Parliaments in *England* to be the happy Constitution of the Kingdom and Nation, and the best means under GOD, to  
make

make the King and his People happy. As for my Death, I do here acquit all the World, and beseech GOD to forgive them: In particular, I am very glad His Majesty conceives me not meriting so severe and heavy a punishment, as the utmost Execution of this Sentence: I do infinitely rejoice in it, and in that Mercy of his, and do beseech GOD to return him the same, that he may find Mercy when he hath most need of it. I wish this Kingdom all Prosperity and Happiness in the World: I did it living, and now dying, it is my wish.

I profess heartily my Apprehension, and do humbly recommend it to you, and wish that every Man would lay his Hand on his Heart, and consider seriously, whether the beginning of the people's happiness should be written in *Letters of Blood*? I fear they are in a wrong way; I desire Almighty GOD that no one drop of my Blood rise up in Judgment against them. I have but one word more, and that is for my Religion.

My Lord of *Armagh*, I do profess my self seriously, faithfully, and truly to be an obedient Son of the Church of *England*. In that Church I was born and bred, in that Religion I have lived, and now in that I die. Prosperity and Happiness be ever to it.

It hath been said, I was Inclined to Popery: If it be an Objection worth the answering, let me say truly from my Heart, that since I was Twenty-one Years of Age, unto this Day, going on Forty-nine Years, I never had thought or doubt of the Truth of this Religion, nor had ever any the Boldness to suggest to me the contrary, to my best remembrance.

And so being reconciled to the Mercies of JESUS CHRIST my Saviour, into whose Bosom I hope shortly to be gathered, to enjoy Eternal Happiness, which shall never have an end; I desire heartily to be forgiven of every Man, if any rash or unadvised Words or Deeds have passed from me; and desire all your prayers: And so, my Lord, farewell; and farewell all things in this World.

The Lord strengthen my Faith, and give me Confidence, and Assurance in the Merits of CHRIST JESUS. I trust in GOD we shall all meet to live eternally in Heaven, and receive the Accomplishment of all Happiness, where every Tear shall be wiped from our Eyes, and sad Thoughts from our Hearts. And so GOD bless this Kingdom, and JESUS have mercy on my Soul.

*The chief Articles of Pacification with the Scots,  
agreed to by the King and Parliament.*

THat *Edenburgh-Castle*, and other Strengths of the Kingdom, be furnished and defended by advice of the Parliament. p. 279.

That the King shall put no Person into Place or Office, nor imploy any about his Person, without Consent of Parliament.

That Ships and Goods be restored on both sides.

That a friendly Relief and Assistance be given to supply the Losses of the *Scots*, in this War. And the Parliament resolved that 220000 *l.* was a fit sum.

That all such Declarations, Proclamations, Libels, &c. as have been published against His Majesty's Loyal and Dutiful Subjects of *Scotland* be recall'd: And that their Loyalty, Integrity, and Faithfulness to His Majesty's Royal Person and Government, may be made known in all Places, and in all Parish-Churches of His Majesty's Dominions.

That all things betwixt the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* be reduced into the same State as they were in before the Troubles.

That the King and Prince will reside in *Scotland*, so far as to know and be acquainted with the People there.

That an *Act of Oblivion* shall pass for *Scotland*; out of which shall be excepted all the *Scottish* Prelates; as also *John* Earl of *Traquair*, *Sir Robert Spotswood*, *Sir John Hay*, and *Mr. Walter Blacqual*, cited and pursued as Incendiaries betwixt the Kingdoms; or any other Persons who shall be cited by the Parliament of *Scotland*, and proved to be such.

That neither *England* nor *Ireland* shall make War upon *Scotland* without consent of the Parliament of *England*: And if any such make such War, they shall be esteem'd Traytors.



Part of Sir Edward Deering's Speech against the Remonstrance.

Pag. 312. **T**His Remonstrance, whenever it passeth, will make such an Impression, and leave such a Character behind, both of His Majesty, the People, the Parliament, and of this present Church and State, as no Time shall ever eat it out, while Histories are written, and Men have Eyes to read them. How curious then ought we to be, both in the Matter and the Form? Let us be sure that every particular Substance be a Truth; and let us cloath that truth with a free Language, yet a modest and a sober Language.

To what end do we decline thus to them that look not for it? Wherefore is this descension from a Parliament to a People? they look not for this so extraordinary Courtesy. The better Sort think best of us: And why are we told that the People are expectant for a Declaration?

I did never look for it of my Predecessors in this place, nor shall do from my Successors. I do here profess, that I do not know any one Soul in all that Country for which I have the Honour to serve, who looks for this at your hands. They do humbly and heartily thank you for many good Laws and Statutes already enacted, and pray for more. That is the Language best understood of them, and most welcome to them. They do not expect to hear any other Stories of what you have done, much less Promises of what you will do.

When I first heard of a Remonstrance, I presently imagined, that, like faithful Counsellors, we should hold up a Glass unto His Majesty: I thought to represent unto the King the wicked Counsels of pernicious Counsellors; the restless turbulency of practical Papists; the treachery of false Judges; the bold Innovations and some Superstition brought in by some Pragmatical Bishops, and the rotten part of the Clergy.

I did not dream that we should remonstrate downward, tell Stories to the People, and talk of the King as of a third Person.

You say, Idolatry is introduced by command of the Bishops. Who ever read or heard of such a Command?

The

*The Learned, Pious, and Painful Bishop of Durham (Morton) hath fought in Front against Roman Superstition and Idolatry.*

*The Bishop of Lincoln (Williams) was the first of Note, that gave Check unto our Papal Misleaders, and Altarian Innovators. He stood in the Gap of that Inundation, and was a Sufferer for us.*

*The Bishop of Exeter (Hall) (however mistaken in the Divinity of Episcopacy) hath ever had the repute both of a good Man and a good Bishop. He hath not only held and maintain'd his Station, but advanced also, and made good Impression upon the Idolaters of Rome.*

*This hath been a very Accusative Age; yet have I not heard any Superstition (much less Idolatry) charged (much less proved) upon the several Bishops of London (Juxon), Winchester (Curle), Chester (Bridgman), Carlisle (Potter), Chichester (Duppa).*

*Lastly, You promise in general Words, That Learning shall rather be advanced than discouraged: Sed quid verba audio, facta cum videam?*

*Religious Learning, in this Remonstrance, is, for one half thereof, unthought on.*

*It is one thing to be able to Preach, and another to confute the perverse Adversaries of Truth: One gives you the wholesome Food of sound Doctrine, the other maintains and defends it for you. These double Abilities, these several Sufficiencies seldom meet together in one and the same Man.*

*The more you look for from the Pulpit, the less you must expect from the Pen.*

*How shall a Man with One-hundred Pounds (perhaps Two-hundred Pounds) per Annum, with a Family, and with constant Preaching, be able to discharge this so chargable, so difficult a work? Six-hundred pounds is but a mean expence in Books, and will advance but a moderate Library. Pains and Learning must have a reward of Honour and Profit proportional.*

*In conclusion, I do beseech you all, never to suffer diversion or diminution of the Rents we have for Learning and Religion.*

*Never let it be said, that sacred Learning (for such is that I plead for) shall, in one essential half thereof, be quite unprovided for in England.*

*Thus I have done: And because I do not know any necessary good end and use of this Declaration, but do fear a bad one; and because we pass His Majesty, and do remonstrate to the People, I do here discharge my Vote with a clear Conscience, and must say, NO, to this strange Remonstrance.*

*The Kings Answer, at the presentitg of the Remonstrance.*

THE presenting of it was put upon Sir *Edward Deering*, but he avoided it by being absent, and so it was done by Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who, the next day, made report to the House as followeth.

Sir *Ralph Hopton* reports to the House, the delivery of the Petition and Remonstrance to the King yesterday, at *Hampton-Court*; being the first of *December*.

He said, that the last night in the Evening, he, and those that accompanied him, came into *Hampton-Court*, where, meeting with Sir *Richard Wynn*, he went in to His Majesty, and gave him notice of our being there; and, within a quarter of an Hour, the King sent a *Gentleman Usber*, to call us in, with directions, None to come in but ourselves. Whereupon I did, according to your Order, and the rest with me, upon our *Knees*, present the *Petition* and *Remonstrance*, and begun to read it kneeling; but His Majesty would not permit that, but commanded us all to rise; and so I read it.

The first thing that His Majesty spake at the reading thereof, was to that part of the *Petition*, that charges a malignant Party to be about His Majesty, with a design to change Religion; to which, His Majesty, with a hearty Fervency, said, *The Devil take him, whosoever he be, that has a design to change Religion*. Then I proceeded to read on, and when I came to that part of the Remonstrance, of reserving the Lands of the *Rebels* in *Ireland* towards the suppressing them, His Majesty spake and said, *We must not dispose of the Bear's Skin till the Bear be dead*.

After the *Petition* was read, His Majesty said he desir'd to ask us some Questions; but I answer'd, we had no Power to speak to any thing, but wherein we had Commission. Then said His Majesty, *Doth the House intend to publish this Decla-*



*Declaration?* We said we could not answer to it. *Well then,* said His Majesty, *I suppose you do not expect a present Answer to so long a Petition; but this let me tell you, I have left Scotland well in Peace; they are well satisfied with me, and I with them: And tho' I staid longer than I expected, I think if I had not gone, you had not been so soon rid of the Army. I shall give you an Answer to this Business with as much speed as the weight thereof will permit.* And so was pleased to give us all his Hand to kiss; and thereupon we took our leave; and afterwards Mr. Comptroller came to us with this Message, That the King desired there should be no publishing of this Declaration, till we had received his Answer. We were all that Night treated by Mr. Comptroller at Supper, and entertain'd with great Respect, and lodged by the King's Harbinger.

An Address to His Majesty in the Name of the Commons assembled in Parliament, by a Committee of that House, verbally deliver'd by Mr. Denzil Hollis, praying a Guard, and an Answer without delay.

Most Gracious Sovereign!

**WE** are sent by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses of the House of Commons, your Faithful and Loyal Subjects (who are ready to lay down their Lives and Fortunes, and to spend the last drop of their Blood to maintain your Crown and Royal Person in Greatness and Glory, and do, by us, cast themselves down at your Royal Feet) to present unto your Majesty their humble Desires, upon their great Apprehensions and just Fears of mischievous Designs and Practices to ruine and destroy them. There have been several Attempts heretofore to bring Destruction upon their whole Body at once, and Threats and Menaces against their particular Persons. There is a malignant Party bitterly envenom'd against them, daily gathering Strength and Confidence; and now come to such a height, as they have given boldness to some to imbrue their Hands in the Blood of your Subjects, in the Face and at the Doors of the Parliament; and at your Majesty's own Gates; and have given out me-

nacing Speeches against the Parliament itself. This causeth great Distractions among the People in general, and much fear and apprehension in the House of Commons; That they conceive they cannot with the safety of their Persons (upon which the Peace and Safety of the whole Kingdom doth now depend) sit any longer unarm'd and unguarded. They have therefore their recourse unto your Majesty, most humbly beseeching you, that it may stand with your good liking, if they provide for their own safety, which the very Law of Nature and Reason doth allow unto them. It is their humble desire, that they may have a Guard out of the City of London, Commanded by the Earl of Essex, Lord Chamberlain of your Majesty's Household, of whose Fidelity to your Majesty and the Commonwealth, they have had long Experience. By this your Majesty's Grace and Favour, you will remove their Fears, fill them with Comfort and Assurance, and enable them to serve your Majesty in such a way, as shall render your Majesty and Government Happy and Glorious. And to this they do most humbly desire your Majesty's Gracious and Speedy Answer, because their Safety, and the Safety of the whole Kingdom depends upon it, and will not admit of any Delay.

On Monday following His Majesty returned this Answer.

WE have taken the last Message from you, touching your desire of a Guard, into our serious Consideration; and truly, with great Grief of Heart, that (after a whole Year's Sitting of this Parliament, wherein you have obtained those things for the Happiness and Security of yourselves and the rest of our Subjects, as no Age can equal, instead of reaping, in Peace and Tranquility, the Fruits of your Labours, and of our Grace and Affection to our People) we should find Jealousies, Distrusts, and Fears, still so prevalent among you, as to induce you to declare them unto us in so high a measure as you have done at this time.

We are wholly ignorant of the Grounds of your Apprehensions; but this We do protest before Almighty God, (to whom We must be accountable for those whom he hath intrusted to our Care and Protection) that had We any knowledge or belief of the least design in any, of violence, either for-

*Formerly, or at this time, against you, We would pursue them to condign Punishment, with the same Severity and Detestation, that We would do to the greatest attempt upon Our Crown.*

*We know the Duty of that Place where GOD hath set Us, the Protection We owe to all our Loyal Subjects, and most particularly to you, called to Our Service by Our Writs. And We do engage unto you solemnly, by the Word of a King, that the Security of all and every one of you from violence, is, and shall ever be as much Our Care, as the Preservation of Us and Our Children.*

*And if this general Assurance shall not suffice to remove your Apprehensions, We will Command such a Guard to wait upon you, as We will be responsible for to Him, who hath charged Us with the Safety and Protection of Our Subjects.*

### *Bishops accused of High-Treason.*

**A**T a Conference by a Committee of Both Houses, P. 353.  
the Lord Keeper, in the Name of the House of Peers, delivered as followeth :

That this Petition and Protestation of the Twelve Bishops, contained Matters of high and dangerous Consequence, and such as my Lords are very sensible of, and such as require a speedy and sudden Resolution ; it extending to the deep encroaching upon the Fundamental Privileges and Being of Parliaments. Therefore the Lords have thought fit, that this Matter concerning the whole Parliament, may be communicated to the House of Commons ; it being a thing of so great and so general a Concernment.

Mr. Glyn was order'd to go to the Lords, and at their Bar, in the Name of the House of Commons, and all the Commons of *England*, to accuse these Twelve Prelates of High-Treason, for endeavouring to subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, and the very Being of Parliaments, manifested by preferring that Petition and Protestation ; and to desire the Lords that they may be forthwith sequester'd from Parliament, and put into safe Custody ; and that their Lordships would appoint a speedy Day for the Commons to charge



charge them, and they to answer, for that the Commons were ready to make good their Charge.

The same Day, by eight a Clock at Night, the Bishops were all committed to the *Tower*, except the Bishop of *Durham*, and the Bishop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, who were committed to the Black-Rod.

The Lords assigned these Lawyers to be of Council for the Bishops, viz. Mr. *Lane* the Prince's Attorney, Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, Knight, Recorder of *London*, *John Hearne*, *Challenor Chute*, *John Fountain*, *Matthew Hale*, and *Arthur Treavor*.

Page. 358. **W**hen the King was looking about the House for the Impeached Members, the Speaker standing below by the Chair, His Majesty asked him, Whether any of those Persons were in the House? Whether he saw any of them? And where they were? To which the Speaker, falling on his Knee, thus answered :

May it please Your Majesty,

**I** Have neither Eyes to see, nor Tongue to speak, in this place, but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose Servant I am here ; and humbly beg Your Majesty's Pardon, that I cannot give any other Answer than this, to what Your Majesty is pleased to demand of me.

*A List of those Persons, nominated and recommended by the House of Commons, to His Majesty, as Persons fit to be entrusted with the Militia of the Kingdom ; wherein they desire the concurrence of the House of Peers.*

Page. 432. **B**erkshire, Earl of *Holland* ; Bedfordshire, Earl of *Bullingbrook* ; Buckinghamshire, Lord *Paget* ; Cambridgeshire, and the Isle of *Ely*, Lord *North* ; Cheshire, and the County and City of *Chester*, Lord *Strange* ; Cornwall, Lord *Roberts* ; Cumberland, Lord *Gray of Wark* ; Derby, Earl of *Rutland* ; Devonshire, and

and of the County and City of *Exon*, Earl of *Bedford*; *Dorsetshire*, and the County of the Town of *Pool*, Earl of *Salisbury*; for the Isle of *Purbeck*, County of *Dorset*, Sir *John Banks*, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, and Constable of *Corf-Castle*; *Durham*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Senior; *Effex*, Earl of *Warwick*; *Gloucestershire*, and of the County and City of *Gloucester*, Lord *Shandois*; *Hampshire*, and of the Town and County of *Southampton*, and of the Isle of *Wight*, Earl of *Pembroke*; *Hartfordshire*, Earl of *Salisbury*; *Herefordshire*, Lord *Dacres*; *Huntingtonshire*, Lord *Mandevile*; *Kent*, and the City and County of *Canterbury*, Earl of *Leicester*; County of *Lancaster*, Lord *Wharton*; *Leicester*, Earl of *Stamford*; *Middlesex*, Earl of *Holland*; County of *Northampton*, Lord *Spencer*; *Nottingham*, and of the Town and County of *Nottingham*, Earl of *Clare*; *Northumberland*, and of the Town and County of *Newcastle*, and of the Town of *Berwick*, Earl of *Northumberland*; *Norfolk*, and of the County and City of *Norwich*, Earl of *Warwick*; *Oxfordshire*, Lord Viscount *Say and Seal*; *Rutland*, Earl of *Exon*; *Salop*, Lord *Littleton*, Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*; *Somerset*, Marquis of *Hertford*.

That the Lieutenant of the County of *Worcester*, shall be nominated before *Somerset*.

*Staffordshire*, and of the County of the City of *Litchfield*, Earl of *Effex*; *Suffolk*, Earl of *Suffolk*; *Surry*, Earl of *Nottingham*; *Sussex*, Earl of *Northumberland*; *Warwick*, and of the County of the City of *Coventry*, Lord *Brook*; *Westmorland*, Earl of *Cumberland*; *Wiltshire*, Earl of *Pembroke*; *Wigorn*, and of the County of the City of *Worcester*, Lord *Edward Howard* of *Escrig*; for the County and City of *Bristol*, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*; *Yorkshire*, and of the County of the City of *York*, and of the County of the Town of *KingsTon on Hull*, Earl of *Effex*; of the Parts of *Kestaven* and *Holland*, and the County of the City of *Lincoln*, Earl of *Lincoln*; for the Parts of *Lindsey*, in the County of *Holland*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*; *Monmouth*, Lord *Philip Herbert*; Isle of *Anglesey*, Earl of *Northumberland*; *Brecknock*; Lord *Philip Herbert*; *Cardigan*, Earl of *Carbury*; *Carmarthen*, and *Carmarthen* Town, Earl of *Carbury*; *Carnarvan*, Earl of *Pembroke*; *Denbigh*, Lord *Fielding*; *Flintshire*, Lord *Fielding*; *Glamorgan*, Lord *Philip Herbert*; *Montgomery*, Earl of *Effex*;

*Merioneth, Earl of Pembroke; Pembroke, and the Town of Haverford-West, Earl of Northumberland; Radnor, Lord Littleton, Lord-Keeper.*

That for the Levying, Ordering, and Exercising of the Militia of the City of London, Power is given unto Sir *John Gaire*, Sir *Jacob Garret*, Knights and Aldermen; *Thomas Atkin*, Alderman; Sir *John Wollastone*, Knight and Alderman; *John Warner*, Alderman; and *John Towse*, Alderman; Serjeant Major-General *Skippon*, or any three or more of them; *Randolf Manwaring*, *William Gibs*, *John Fowke*, *James Bunce*, *Francis Peck*, *Samuel Warner*, *James Russel*, *Nathaniel Wright*, *William Barkley*, *Alexander Norvinghton*, *Stephen Estweek*, *Owen Rowe*, Citizens of London, or any Six or more of them.

Pag. 428. **T**HE Usher of the Black-Rod came to the Commons House to call the Speaker, upon *Monday Feb. 14.* and the Members up, to see Two Bills passed by Commission, viz.

The first to take away the Votes of Bishops in Parliament, and all Temporal Jurisdictions and Offices, as to be Privy-Counsellors, Justices of the Peace, &c. from them and all others in Holy Orders.

The second, for Pressing of Soldiers for the Service of *Ireland*, reciting, That whereas by the Laws of the Realm, none of His Majesty's Subjects ought to be Impressed, or compelled to go out of his Country to serve as a Soldier in the Wars, except in Case of Necessity of sudden coming of strange Enemies, or except they be bound by Tenure of their Lands; yet for the prevention of the Plots and Conspiracies in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and this Kingdom of *England*, and for the suppressing of that dangerous Rebellion, it is enacted, That from the first of *December, 1641*, to the first of *November 1642*, the Justices, &c. may Raise, Levy, and Impress so many Men for Soldiers, Gunners, and Surgeons, as shall be appointed by His Majesty and Both Houses of Parliament, for the Service of *England* or *Ireland*. And if any refuse, to be committed to Goal for Six Months, and also till he pay 10*l.* and for default of Payment, to remain in Prison, without Bail or Mainprize, Twelve Months more.

The



*The Votes of the Lords and Commons, upon the Propositions made by divers worthy and well-affected Persons, for the speedy and effectual reducing of the Kingdom of Ireland.*

**T**He Lords and Commons taking into their serious Considerations, as well the Necessity of a speedy reducing the Rebels in *Ireland* to their due Obedience, as also the great Summs of Money that the Commons of *England* have of late paid for the publick and necessary Affairs of the Kingdom, whereof the Lords and Commons are very sensible, and desirous to embrace all good and honourable Ways tending to His Majesty's Greatness and Profit, the settling of that Realm, and the ease of His Majesty's Subjects of *England*: And whereas divers worthy and well-affected Persons perceiving that many *Millions* of Acres of the Rebels Lands of that Kingdom, which go under the Name of *Profitable Lands*, will be confiscate and to be disposed of; and that in case Two Millions and an half of these Acres to be equally taken out of the Four Provinces of that Kingdom, may be allotted for the Satisfaction of such Persons as shall disburse any Summs of Money for the reducing of the Rebels there, would effectually accomplish the same, have made these Propositions following:

1. That Two Millions and a half of those Acres may be assign'd, allotted, and divided amongst them after this Proportion, *viz.*

|                       |                                                                                   |               |                                                                                                                          |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| For each Adventure of | $\left. \begin{array}{l} 200\text{ l.} \\ 300 \\ 450 \\ 600 \end{array} \right\}$ | 1000 Acres in | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Ulster.} \\ \text{Conaught.} \\ \text{Munster.} \\ \text{Leinster.} \end{array} \right.$ |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

All according to the *English* Measure, and consisting of Meadow, Arable, and Profitable Pasture, the Bogs, Woods, and Barren Mountains being cast in over and above those Two Millions and an half of Acres, to be holden in *free and common Scage* of the King, as of his Castle at *Dublin*.

2. That out of these Two Millions and an half of Acres, a constant Rent shall be reserved to the Crown of *England*, after this proportion, *viz.*

Out

|                             |   |                 |                 |
|-----------------------------|---|-----------------|-----------------|
| Out of each Acre thereof in | { | <i>Ulster</i>   | 1 <i>d.</i>     |
|                             |   | <i>Conaught</i> | 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
|                             |   | <i>Munster</i>  | 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
|                             |   | <i>Leinster</i> | 3               |

Whereby His Majesty's Revenue out of those Lands will be much improved, besides the Advantages that he will have by the coming to his Hands of all other the Lands of the Rebels, and their Personal Estates, without any Charge to His Majesty.

3. That for the erecting of *Mannors*, settling of Wastes and Commons, maintaining of *Preaching Ministers*, creating of Corporations, and regulating of the several Plantations, one or more Commissions be hereafter granted by Authority of Parliament.

*Tuesday, the 30th of May, 1643.*

AT this time happen'd the Discovery of a notable Design, carried on by Mr. *Tomkins*, Mr. *Waller*, Mr. *Challoner*, and others: The first notice whereof, was given by one Mr. *Roe*, Servant to Mr. *Tomkins*, who having over heard some of their Consultations, imparted the same to a Member of the House of Commons. Whereupon a Committee was appointed to enquire into the same, *viz.* Mr. *Pym*, Sir *Henry Vane* Junior, Mr. Solicitor *St. Johns*, and Mr. *Glyn*, (not long before chosen Recorder of *London*) who having several Days and Nights traced the same, and divers of the Persons concern'd being secured, the House of Commons desired a Conference with the Lords, where Mr. *Pym* communicated to them the Substance of the Design, and soon after set the same forth in Print, with an Order that the same should be read in all Churches and Chapels, in *London* and *Westminster*, and the Suburbs thereof, as follows.

I. That the Conspiracy was form'd of a Mixture and Conjunction of Persons, of several Qualities, some whereof were of both Houses of Parliament, others of the City, and others belonging to the Court, who, in their respective Places and Employments were to form and perfect the Work, raised out of the Ashes of the late Petition of *London* for Peace.

II. The chief Actors were, Mr. *Waller*, a Member of the House of Commons, who pretended and gave out to the rest, that

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that many others of that House, and of the Lords, were privy too, and concern'd therein; Mr. *Tomkins*, a Gentleman living in *Holburn*, Brother-in-Law to the said Mr. *Waller*, and a Servant to the Queen, as being Secretary to the Commissioners for Her Majesty's Revenue; Mr. *Challoner*, an eminent Citizen; one Mr. *Blinkard*; Mr. *Alexander Hampden*, who brought the last Message from the King; Mr. *Hassel*, one of His Majesty's Messengers, &c.

III. The Method was, for several Persons in the City to dispose of themselves into a Committee, to hold Intelligence with both Armies, the Court, and the Parliament. To take a general Survey of the Affections of all the Inhabitants within the Weekly Bills of Mortality; which was to be done under these three Ranks; *Right Men*, (or of the King's Party) *Averse Men* (or the well affected to the Parliament) and *Moderate Men* (or Neutrals:) To consider of Arms, Ammunition, and all Provisions of War: To appoint, out of themselves, select Persons to Treat with Mr. *Waller* and Mr. *Tomkins*, in relation to the City, Court, and Parliament; as also with Sir *Nicolas Crispe*, Sir *George Binion*, Captain *Roydon*, and others then at *Oxford*.

IV. Mr. *Waller*'s part was to engage a considerable part of the Lords and Commons, and to be a means of conveying Counsels, Resolutions, and Intelligence between them and the said City-Committee. Mr. *Tomkins* was not only an Assistant to Mr. *Waller* therein, but an Instrument to convey, by Mr. *Hassel* and others, their Proceedings to the Court, principally to the Lord *Falkland*, and to receive thence Directions, Powers, and Commands.

V. For preventing Discovery, Protestations of Secrecy were taken, as they were Christians, not to disclose it; and no Man in the City was to endeavour the engaging above two, whereby no one Man could impeach many.

VI. From the Court Mr. *Heron*, and Mr. *Alexander Hampden*, and others, imploy'd upon Messages from the King to the Parliament, were to convey Direction's, Encouragements, and Advice to those in *London*: And Authority was to be given under the Great Seal, and Warrants under the King's Hand, for settling a Council of War, naming of Generals and other Officers, Execution of Martial Law, raising of Money, and providing Arms: And, to facilitate the whole, part of the King's Forces to be in a Readiness to assist the Party here, as there should be occasion.

VII. The



VII. The particulars of the Design itself were, To seize the King's Children, to secure several Members of Parliament, particularly the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Wharton*, Mr. *Pym*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Colonel *Hampden*, and Colonel *Strode*; as also the Lord Mayor and Committee of the Militia, under Pretence of bringing them to a Legal Trial; to seize upon the Outworks, Forts, Magazines, Gates, and other Places of Importance in the City and the *Tower*, and let in the King's Forces; and, in the mean time, to resist and obstruct all Payments imposed by the Authority of the Two Houses for Support of their Armies.

The Parliament sent to General *Essex*, desiring him to appoint a Council of War for Trying of Mr. *Tomkins*, &c. which was done; and on *Friday*, the thirtieth of *June*, a Council of War sat at *Guildhal*, consisting of Twenty-two Colonels of the City, and of the Lord General's Army, the Earl of *Manchester* being President: Before whom Mr. *Tomkins*, Mr. *Challoner*, Mr. *Blinkhorn*, Mr. *Abbot*, Mr. *White*, and Mr. *Hampden*, were severally brought to the Bar, and their Examinations and Confessions produced by the Advocate-General, and read; and upon *Monday*, *July* 3d *Tomkins* and *Challoner* received Sentence of Death; and the next Day, *Blinkhorn* and *Abbot*: But *Hampden* being fallen sick, his Tryal was put off; and as for Mr. *White*, the Court agreed not in their Judgment.

On the *Wednesday*, *July* 5. Mr. *Tomkins* was executed on a Gibbet, at the end of *Fetter-Lane*, in *Holburn*, near his own House. And the same Day Mr. *Challoner* Suffered in like manner over against the *Royal-Exchange*.

It was to be noted that Mr. *Tomkins* never so much as alter'd his Countenance, nor, by his outward Appearance, seem'd in the least abashed with the Apprehension of Death.

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*Articles between His Excellency Prince Maurice, and the Earl of Stamford, upon the Delivery of the City of Exeter, September 5. 1643.*

*Maurice,*  
 IT is concluded and agreed on, that the City Pag. 339.  
 and Castle of *Exon* be surrendered into the  
Hands

Hands of His Highness Prince *Maurice*, with all Arms, Ensigns, Ordinance, Ammunition, and all other Warlike Provisions whatsoever, within the said City and Castle.

II. That the Right Honourable *Henry* Earl of *Stamford*, together with all Officers above the Degree of Lieutenants, both of Horse and Foot, now within and about this City and Castle, do March out of this City and Castle, on *Thursday*, the 7th of this Month, by Nine of the Clock in the Morning, with their Troops of Horse, full Arms, Bag and Baggage, provided it be their own Goods: And that the Lieutenants and Ensigns March out with their Swords, at the *East Gate*; and that the Foot-Soldiers March out at the same time, leaving their Arms at the *Guild-Hall*: All having a safe Convoy to *Windsor*, or to go elsewhere if they please; and such as will stay, shall have pay in the King's Army.

III. That there be Carriages allowed and provided to carry away their Bag and Baggage, and Sick and Hurt Soldiers; and that an especial Care be taken of such Officers and Soldiers, as (being Sick and Wounded) shall be, by the Earl of *Stamford*, left behind in the said City; and that upon their recovery, they shall have Passes to depart to their own Homes respectively.

IV. That the King's Forces March not into the City, till the Parliament's Forces are Marched out, except an Hundred Musqueteers at the *East Port*, thro' which they pass.

V. That His Highness shall forthwith procure a free and general Pardon, unto *Henry* Earl of *Stamford*, *Sir George Chidleigh*, *Sir John Rampfield*, *Sir John Northcot*, Barons; *Sir Samuel Roberts*, and *Sir Nicholas Martin*, Knights; and unto the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Commonalty of the City of *Exon*, and to all other Persons of what Degree, Condition, or Quality soever, now being within the said City of *Exon*, for all Treasons and other Offences whatsoever, committed by them or any of them, since the Beginning of this present Parliament, relating to these unhappy Differences between His Majesty and the Two Houses of Parliament; and that all or any of them shall have His particular Pardon for the aforesaid Offences or Treasons, if he shall sue forth the same.

VI. That the true *Protestant* Religion, now established by Law, shall be preserved and exercised in the City.

VII. That all Persons, Citizens, and Inhabitants, may, at any time, depart with their Families, Goods, and Estates, unto any part of this Kingdom ; and that they and every of them, shall have Power to Dispose, Sell, or Alien, either by themselves or others, whatsoever Goods or parts of their Estates they shall not convey or carry with them.

VIII. That all Persons now in this City, may have free Liberty to repair to their Houses in the Country, or elsewhere, and there to remain in Safety, and enjoy their Estates, Lands, Rents, and Goods, without Plundering, Fine, or Imprisonment, or any other Molestation, and may travel to and fro, without any Interruption, Hindrance, or Denial.

IX. That all Ministers, and Preachers of GOD's Word, now within this City, shall have free Liberty either to stay here, or go to their own Houses, Cures, or Charges, or elsewhere, within His Majesty's Dominions, with their Wives, Children, Families, and Goods, there to abide peaceably, and to exercise their Ministerial Functions, and to enjoy their Estates according to the Laws of the Land.

X. That all the Charters, Liberties, Privileges, and Franchises, Lands, Estates, Goods, and Debts, of the said City shall be preserved and confirmed : And that the ancient Government, and the present Governours and Officers, may remain and continue in their former Condition.

XI. That no new Oath or Protestation be enforced upon any, nor any compell'd to take up Arms against the Parliament.

XII. That, for avoiding Inconveniencies and Distractions, the Quartering of Soldiers be referred to the Mayor and Governour of the City for the time being.

XIII. That all these Articles which are now agreed upon, shall be Ratified and Confirmed by His Majesty, under the Great Seal of *England*.

XIV. That the Officers and Soldiers, in their Marching out, shall not be reproached, or have any disgraceful Speeches or Affronts offered or given unto them, by any Officer or Soldier of the King's : And that the Convoy appointed to March with them, may go and return safely, without any violence or wrong offer'd unto them, by any Forces of the Adverse Party.

*Stamford.* | *Chr. Clarke, Mayor.*  
*Richard Cave.* | *Jos. Bamfield.*



*The Names of the Lords and Commons assembled  
in Parliament, at Oxford, Jan. 27. 1643.*

CHARLES, Pr.  
YORK.  
Cumberland.  
Ed. Littleton, C. S.  
Fra. Cottington.  
D. Richmond.  
M. Hartford.  
E. Lindsey.  
E. Dorset.  
E. Shrewsbury.  
E. Bath.  
E. Southampton.  
E. Leicester.  
E. Northampton.  
E. Devonshire.  
E. Carlisle.  
E. Bristol.  
E. Berkshire.  
E. Cleveland.  
E. Rivers.  
E. Dover.  
F. Peterborough.  
E. Kingston.  
E. Newport.  
E. Portland.  
V. Conway.  
L. Digby.  
L. Mowbray and Maltravers.  
L. Wentworth.  
L. Cromwel.  
L. Rich.  
L. Paget.  
L. Chandos.  
L. Howard of Charleton.  
L. Lovelace.  
L. Savile.  
L. Mohun.  
L. Dunsmore.

L. Seymour.  
L. Piercy.  
L. Wilmot.  
L. Leigh.  
L. Hatton.  
L. Jermin.  
L. Carrington.  
John Fettiplace, Esq;  
Sir Alex. Denton.  
Sir John Packington.  
Sir Tho. Smith.  
Francis Gamul, Esq;  
John Harris, Esq;  
Joseph Fane, Esq;  
Richard Edgcombe, Esq;  
Jonathan Rashleigh, Esq;  
G. Fane, Esq;  
P. Edgcombe, Esq;  
Sir Robert Holburne.  
Sir Ra. Sydenham.  
Fra. Godolphin, Esq;  
George Parry, Dr. of Law.  
Ambrose Manaton, Esq;  
Richard Vivian, Esq;  
John Polewheele, Esq;  
John Arundel, Esq;  
Thomas Lower, Esq;  
Sir Edward Hyde.  
Will. Allestree, Esq;  
Sir George Stonehouse.  
Edward Seymour, Esq;  
Peter Sainthill, Esq;  
Sir William Poole.  
Roger Matthew, Esq;  
Richard Arundel, Esq;  
Robert Walker, Esq;  
Giles Strangways, Esq;  
Sir John Strangways.

Sir

- Sir Thomas Hele.*  
*Sir George Naper.*  
*Sam. Turner, Dr. in Physick.*  
*Will. Constantine, Esq;*  
*Hen. Killigrew, Esq;*  
*Richard King, Esq;*  
*John Dutton, Esq;*  
*Henry Brett, Esq;*  
*William Chadwell, Esq;*  
*Sir Theobald Gorges.*  
*John George, Esq;*  
*Sir Thomas Fanshaw.*  
*Humphrey Conningsby, Esq;*  
*Richard Seaborne, Esq;*  
*Arthur Lord Ranelagh.*  
*Thomas Tomkins, Esq;*  
*Sir Sampson Evers.*  
*Sir John Culpeper,*  
*Jeffrey Palmer, Esq;*  
*Sir John Harrison.*  
*Tho. Fanshaw, Esq;*  
*Sir Roger Palmer.*  
*Sir Orlando Bridgman.*  
*William Watkins, Esq;*  
*John Smith, Esq;*  
*Sir Tho. Bludder.*  
*Sir Edw. Littleton.*  
*Sir Harvy Bagot.*  
*Sir Rich. Leveson.*  
*Sir Rich. Care.*  
*Rich. Weston, Esq;*  
*Sir Rich. Lee.*  
*Sir Tho. Whitmore.*  
*Sir Edw. Aston.*  
*C. Baldwin, Esq;*  
*R. Goodwin, Esq;*  
*Tho. Howard, Esq;*  
*Tho. Littleton, Esq;*  
*Sir Ro. Howard.*  
*Sir John Meux.*  
*Matthew Davis, Esq;*  
*Sir Fr. Cornwallis.*  
*Tho. Jermin, Esq;*
- John Taylor, Esq;*  
*William Basset, Esq;*  
*Sir William Portman.*  
*Sir Edw. Rodney.*  
*Tho. Hanham, Esq;*  
*Edw. Philips, Esq;*  
*John Digby, Esq;*  
*Christ. Kirton, Esq;*  
*Edw. Lukenor, Esq;*  
*Sir Edw. Alford.*  
*John White, Esq;*  
*John Ashburnham, Esq;*  
*William Smith, Esq;*  
*Tho. Leeds, Esq;*  
*Sir James Thimne.*  
*William Pleydell, Esq;*  
*Ro. Hide, Serjeant at Law.*  
*Sir Edw. Griffin.*  
*Sr. Walter Smith.*  
*George Lowe, Esq;*  
*Rich. Harding, Esq;*  
*Sir Henry Herbert.*  
*Andr. Porter, Esq;*  
*Sam. Sandys, Esq;*  
*John Bodvill, Esq;*  
*William Morgan, Esq;*  
*William Thomas, Esq;*  
*John Mostyn, Esq;*  
*Henry Bellasis, Esq;*  
*Sir George Wentworth.*  
*William Malory, Esq;*  
*Rich. Aldburgh, Esq;*  
*John Salisbury, Esq;*  
*William Herbert, Esq;*  
*William Price, Esq;*  
*Sir John Price.*  
*Sir R. Herbert.*  
*Charles Price, Esq;*  
*Phil. Warwick, Esq;*  
*Tho. Cook, Esq;*  
*Sir Robert Croke.*  
*Herb. Price, Esq;*  
*John Whistler, Esq;*

*These Peers following, being disabled by several Accidents to appear sooner, have since attended the Service, and concurr'd with us.*

Viscount Cambden.  
Lord Abergavenny.  
Lord Arundel.

Lord Capel.  
Lord Newport.

*Peers employ'd in His Majesty's Service, or absent with leave.*

Marquis of Winchester.  
Marquis of Worcester.  
Marquis of Newcastle.  
Earl of Derby.  
Earl of Huntingdon.  
Earl of Clare.  
Earl of Marlborough.  
Viscount Falconbridge.  
Lord Morley.  
Lord Darcy and Conyers.  
Lord Stourton.

Lord Evers.  
Lord Daincourt.  
Lord Pawlet.  
Lord Brudenel.  
Lord Powis.  
Lord Herbert of Cherbury.  
Lord Hopton.  
Lord Loughborough.  
Lord Byron.  
Lord Vaughan.  
Lord Withrington.

*Peers absent in the parts beyond the Seas.*

Earl of Arundel.  
Earl of St. Alban's.  
Viscount Montague.  
Viscount Stafford.  
Lord Stanhope.

Lord Coventry.  
Lord Goring.  
Lord Craven of Hamsted.  
Lord Craven of Ryton.

*Peers in Prison for their Loyalty to His Majesty.*

Earl of Chesterfield.

! Lord Montague of Boughton.

Whoever views these Numbers, and considers how many Peers are at this time under Age, will quickly know who and how many are Privy or Consenting to the Counsels at Westminster.



*These Members following being disabled by several Accidents to appear sooner, have since attended the Service, and concurred with us.*

*Peter Venables, Esq;  
Sir John Pawlet.  
Edward Bagshaw, Esq;  
Sir John Burlafey.  
Francis Newport, Esq;  
Antony Hungerford, Esq;  
John Russel, Esq;  
Thomas Chicheley, Esq;  
Earl of Cork.  
Sir Gervase Clifton.  
Sir Guy Palmes.  
Robert Sutton, Esq;*

*Gervase Hollis, Esq;  
Sir Patricius Curwen.  
Sir Henry Bellingham.  
Sir George Dalstone.  
Sir Thomas Sandford.  
Sir William Dalston.  
Michael Wharton, Esq;  
Sir Robert Hatton.  
James Scudamore, Esq;  
Sir John Brooke.  
Sir John Stepney.*

*Imploy'd in His Majesty's Service, or absent with Leave, or by Sickness.*

*Sir John Fenwick.  
Hugh Potter, Esq;  
Walter Kyrle, Esq;  
William Stanhope, Esq;  
Sir William Carnaby.  
Sir Thomas Danby.  
John Fenwick, Esq;  
Ralph Sneade, Esq;  
Sir William Ogle.  
Sir Thomas Jermyn.  
Sir John Stowel.  
Sir Robert Strickland.  
Sir Philip Musgrave.  
John Cowcher, Esq;  
John Coventry, Esq;  
Sir Henry Slingsby.  
Sir John Malory.*

*John Bellasis, Esq;  
Sir Thomas Ingram.  
Lord Mansfield.  
Tho. Heblethwaite, Esq;  
Sir Hugh Cholmely.  
Sir George Ventworth.  
Sir Walter Lloyd.  
Sir Henry Vaughan.  
Francis Lloyd, Esq;  
John Vaughan, Esq;  
Richard Ferrers, Esq;  
George Hartnol, Esq;  
Sir William Udal.  
Robert Hunt, Esq;  
Thomas May Esq;  
Sir Tho. Bowyer.  
Sir Tho. Roe.*

Whoever now considers how many have retired themselves into several Counties, and so are absent from *Westminster*,  
and

and yet cannot, through the danger of Travelling, be present at *Oxford*; how many have withdrawn themselves into the Parts beyond the Seas; how many of their own principal Instruments are voted out of the House by themselves, as Sir *John Hotham* and his Son, Sir *Alexander Carew*, Mr. *Martin*, Mr. *Fiennes*, and many others; and how many now are Imprison'd by them; how many Members, from the beginning have been factiously kept from the House, upon Questions of Election; and how many, without any colour, are kept in, by not suffering their Elections to be reported; and that there are Thirty-five Members dead, into whose rooms no new Persons are chosen; how many since are become Barons by Descent, or Creation, will easily conclude how small the Number is which remains; and of those how few, in truth, have Right to sit there.

*Matters relating to Archbishop Laud's Tryal.*

THIS Eminent Prelate being accused by the Commons of High-Treason, Dec. 18. 1640, and thereupon committed to the *Black-Rod*, on the 26th of Feb. following, Articles were brought in against him, and then he was sent to the *Tower*; and there continued till Octob. 23. 1643. when Additional Articles were carried up to the House of Lords, of this Tenor:

Clarendon  
Vol. II.  
Part 2.  
pag. 572.

I. That the said Archbishop, to introduce an Arbitrary Government within this Realm, and to destroy Parliaments in the third and fourth Years of His Majesty's Reign, Traiterously and Maliciously caused the Parliament then sitting, to be dissolved, calling it a *Factious Parliament*, &c.

II. That within the space of Ten Years last past, the said Archbishop hath treacherously endeavour'd to subvert the Fundamental Laws of this Realm, by advancing the Power of the Council-Table, the Canons of the Church, and the King's Prerogative above the Laws and Statutes of the Realm.

III. That to advance the Canons of the Church and Power Ecclesiastical above the Law of the Land, he hath at divers times, by his Sollicitations used to Judges, opposed and stopped the Granting of His Majesty's Writs of Prohibition,

where the same ought to have been granted for stay of Proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Court.

IV. That about Seven Years ago, a Judgment being given in the *King's-Bench* against one *Burley* a Parson, of a bad Life and Conversation, for wilful Non-residency, he caused Execution upon the said Judgment to be staid.

V. That about Eight Years ago, being then a Privy-Counsellor, he caused Sir *John Corbet* of *Stoke* in *Shropshire*, a Justice of Peace of the said County, to be committed to the Prison of the *Fleet*, where he continued half a Year or more, only for calling for the *Petition of Right*, and causing it to be read at the Sessions of the Peace for that County, upon a just and necessary occasion.

VI. That whereas divers Gifts and Sums of Money were heretofore given for buying in Improvements to maintain the preaching of GOD's Word in several Churches, the said Archbishop, about Eight Years ago, caused the said Gifts to be overthrown in His Majesty's Exchequer.

VII. That he hath received, harboured, and relieved divers Popish Priests and Jesuits, particularly one *Sancta Clara*, alias *Damport*.

VIII. That about Four Years ago he declared there must be a Blow given to the Church, such as had not been yet given, before it could be brought to Conformity.

IX. That in 1640, presently after the Dissolution of the last Parliament, he caused a Convocation of the Clergy to be held, wherein divers Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical were made, contrary to the Laws of this Realm, the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, the Liberty and Property of the Subject.

X. That a little before the Calling of the last Parliament, 1640, a Resolution being then taken at the Council-Table, by the Advice of the said Archbishop, for assisting of the King in Extraordinary Ways, if the Parliament should prove peevish, and refuse to supply His Majesty; the said Archbishop advised His Majesty to dissolve the said Parliament; and presently after told him, he was now absolved from all Rules of Government, and left free to use extraordinary Ways for His Supply.

The Archbishop was order'd by the Lords to put in his Answer in Writing into the House, Oct. 30. 1643. But upon his several Petitions the Trial was deferr'd till March 12. 1643.

At



At which time he was allow'd the Attendance of *VV. Dell*, *Richard Cobb*, and *George Smith*, his Servants: And had assign'd him for Council, *Mr. Hearne*, *Mr. Chute*, *Mr. Richard Gerard*, and *Mr. Hales*. The Persons appointed by the Commons to make good their Charge against him, were *Mr. Maynard*, Sergeant *VVyld*, *Mr. Brown*, and *Mr. Nicholas*. The Lords refused (at the Request of the Archbishop and his Council) to declare before the Trial, which of the Articles were intended to be Charges of Crimes and Misdemeanors, and which of High-Treason.

When Sergeant *VVyld* had spoke to the House of Peers by way of Introduction to the Proof of the Charge, the Archbishop desired that he might have liberty to speak a few words, to wipe off that Dirt that had been cast upon him; which the Lords granting, he made the following Speech, which he had prepared for that occasion, holding it written in a Paper in his Hand.

My Lords,

**M***Y* being in this place in this Condition, recalls to my Memory that which I long since read in Seneca: *Tormentum est, etiamsi absolutus quis fuerit, causam dixisse. 'Tis not a Grief only; No; 'tis no less than a Torment for an Ingenuous Man to plead Capitally or Criminally, tho' it should so fall out that he be absolved. The great Truth of this I find at present in myself: And so much the more because I am a Christian; and not that only, but in Holy Orders; and not so only, but, by GOD's Grace and Goodness, preferred to the greatest Place this Church affords: And yet brought Causam dicere, to plead for myself at this great Bar.*

*And whatsoever the VVorld thinks of me (and they have been taught to think much more Ill of me than, I humbly thank CHRIST for it, I was ever acquainted with) yet, my Lords, this I find, Tormentum est, 'tis no less than a Torment to me to appear in this place.*

*For as for the Sentence, be it what it shall; I thank GOD for it, I am at St. Paul's Word (Acts 25. 11.) If I have committed any thing worthy of Death, I refuse not to die: For I thank GOD I have so lived, as that I am neither afraid to die, nor asham'd to live. But seeing the Malignity which hath been raised against me by some Men, I have carried my very Life in my Hands these divers Years past. But yet, my Lords, if there be none of these things*

whereof they accuse me, tho' I may not in this Case, and from this Bar, appeal unto Cæsar, yet to your Lordships Justice and Integrity I both may and do; not doubting but that GOD of his Goodness will preserve my Innocency.

And as Job, in the midst of his Affliction, said to his mistaken Friends, so shall I to my Accusers; GOD forbid I should justify you; till I die I will not remove my Integrity from me; I will hold it fast and not let it go; my Heart shall not reproach me as long as I live, *Job xxii. 5.*

My Lords, The Charge against me is brought up in Ten Articles, but the main Heads are Two: An endeavour to subvert the Laws of the Land, and the Religion established. Six Articles (the five First and the last) concern the Laws, and the other Four Religion.

For the Laws first, I think I may safely say, I have been, to my Understanding, as strict an Observer of them all the Days of my Life, so far as they concern me, as any Man hath; and since I came into this Place I have followed them, and been as much guided by them, as any Man that sate where I had the Honour to sit. And of this I am sorry I have lost the Testimony of the Lord-Keeper Coventry, and other Persons of Honour since dead.

And the Council which attended at the Council-Board can witness, some of them here present, that in all References to the Board, or Debates arising at the Board, I was for that part of the Cause where I found Law to be: And if the Council desired to have the Cause left to the Law, well I might move in some Cases Charity or Conscience to them; but I left them to the Law, if thither they would go. And how such a Carriage as this, through the whole Course of my Life, in private and publick, can stand with an Intention to overthrow the Laws, I cannot yet see.

Nay more, I have ever been of Opinion that Laws bind the Conscience, and have accordingly made Conscience of observing them: And this Doctrine I have constantly Preached as occasion hath been offered me: And how is it possible I should seek to overthrow those Laws which I held my self bound in Conscience to keep and observe?

As for Religion, I was born and bred up in, and under, the Church of England, as it stands established by Law: I have, by GOD's Blessing, grown up in it, to the Years which are now upon me, and to the Place of Preferment which I now bear. I have, ever since I understood  
ought

ought in my Profession, kept one constant Tenor in this my Profession, without variation or shifting from one Opinion to another, for any wordly Ends: And if my Conscience would have suffer'd me to do so, I could easily have slid thro' all the Difficulties which have prest upon me in this kind. But of all Diseases, I have ever held a Palsie in Religion most dangerous; well knowing and remembring that Disease often ends in a dead Palsie.

Ever since I came in Place, I have labour'd nothing more, than that the external Publick Worship of GOD (so much slighted in divers parts of the Kingdom) might be preserved, and that with as much decency and uniformity as might be: For I evidently saw, that the publick neglect of GOD's Service, in the outward face of it, and the nasty lying of many places dedicated to that Service, had almost cast a Damp upon the true and inward Worship of GOD, which, while we live in the Body, needs external Helps, and all little enough to keep it in any Vigour. And this I did to the uttermost of my knowledge, according both to Law and Canon, and with the consent and liking of the People: Nor did any Command issue out from me, against the one, or without the other.

Further, my Lords, give me leave, I beseech you, to acquaint you with this also, that I have as little acquaintance with Recusants, as, I believe, any Man of my place, of England, hath, or ever had since the Reformation: And for my Kindred, no one of them was ever a Recusant, but Sir William Web, Grandchild to my Uncle Sir William Web, sometime Lord Mayor of London, and since which, some of his Children I reduced back again to the Church of England.

On this, one thing more I humbly desire may be thought on, that I am fallen into a great Obloquy in matter of Religion, and that so far (as appears by the Articles against me) that I have endeavoured to advance and bring in Popery. Perhaps, my Lords, I am not ignorant what Party of Men have raised these Scandals upon me, nor for what end, nor perhaps, by whom set on. But howsoever, I would fain have a good reason given me, if my Conscience stood that way, and that with my Conscience I could subscribe to the Church of Rome, what should have kept me here before my Imprisonment, to endure the Libelling, and the Slanders, and the base Usage that hath been put upon me, and



t

these to end in this Question for my Life? I say I would know a good Reason for this.

First, my Lords, Is it because I have any Pledges in all the world to sway me against my Conscience? No sure, for I have neither Wife nor Children to cry out upon me to stay with them: And, if I had, I hope the calling of my Conscience should be heard above them.

Is it because I was loath to leave the Honour and Profit of the Place I was risen to? Surely no; for I desire your Lordships and all the World to know, I do much Scorn the one and the other, in comparison of my Conscience. Besides, it cannot be imagined by any Man, but that, if I should have gone over to them, I should not have wanted both Honour and Profit, and suppose not so great as this I have here, yet sure, would my Conscience have served my self of either, less with my Conscience would have prevailed with me more than greater against my Conscience.

Is it because I lived here at ease, and was loath to venture the loss of that? not so neither; for whatsoever the World may be pleased to think of me, I have led a very painful Life, and such as I would have been content to change, had I well known how: And, would my Conscience have served me that way, I am sure I might have lived at far more ease, and either have avoided the barbarous Libelling and other bitter grievous Scorns which have been put upon me, or, at least, been out of the hearing of them.

Not to trouble your Lordships too long, I am so innocent in the business of Religion, so free from all Practice or so much as thought of Practice, for any alteration unto Popery, or any blemishing the true Protestant Religion established in England, as I was when my Mother first bore me into the World. And let nothing be spoken but truth, and I do here challenge whatsoever is between Heaven and Hell, that can be said against me in point of my Religion, in which I have ever hated Dissimulation. And, had I not hated it, perhaps I might have been better for worldly Safety than now I am; But it can no way become a Christian Bishop to Halt with GOD.

Lastly, If I had any Purpose to blast the true Religion established in the Church of England, and to introduce Popery, sure I took a wrong way to it: For, my Lords, I have feared more going to Rome, and reduced more that were already gone, than, I believe, any Bishop or Divine in this King-

Kingdom hath done; and some of them Men of great Abilities, and some Persons of great Place; and is this the way to introduce Popery? My Lords, if I had blemished the true Protestant Religion, how could I have brought these Men to it? And if I had promised to introduce Popery, I would never have reduced these Men from it.

And, that it may appear unto your Lordships how many and of what Condition the Persons are, which, by GOD's Blessing upon my Labours, I have settled in the true Protestant Religion established in England, I shall briefly name some of them, tho' I cannot do it in order of time as I converted them.

Henry Birkinstead, of Trinity College, Oxon, seduced by a Jesuit, and brought to London; (the Lords and others conceiving him to be Birkinhead the Author of all the Libellous Popish Oxford Aulicus's against the Parliament, at the naming of him smiled; which the Archbishop perceiving said) my Lords, I mean not Birkinhead the Author of the Oxford Aulicus, but another.

Two Daughters of Sir Richard Lechford, in Surrey, sent towards a Nunnery.

Two Scholars of St. John's College, Toppin and Ashton, who had got the French Ambassador's Pass; and after this I allow'd means to Toppin, and then procured him a Fellowship in St. John's; and he is at this time as hopeful a young Man as any of his time, and a Divine.

Sir William Web, my Kinsman, and two of his Daughters, and his Son I took from him, and his Father being utterly decayed, I bred him at my own Charge, and he is a very good Protestant.

A Gentleman brought to me by Master Chesford His Majesty's Servant, but I cannot recal his Name.

The Lord Mayo of Ireland, brought to me also by Master Chesford.

The Right Honourable the Lord Duke of Buckingham, almost quite gone between the Lady his Mother and Sister.

The Lady Marques's Hamilton was settled by my direction, and she Died very Religiously and a Protestant.

Master Digby, who was a Priest.

Master James, a Gentleman brought to me by a Minister in Buckinghamshire, as I remember.

Doctor Hart, the Civilian, my Neighbour's Son at Fulham.

Master

*Master Christopher Seabourn, a Gentleman of an ancient Family in Herefordshire.*

*The Right Honourable the Countess of Buckingham.*

*Sir William Spencer of Parnton.*

*Master Chillingworth.*

*The Sons and Heirs of Master Winchcomb and Master Wollescot, whom I sent with their Friends to Wadham College, Oxford, and received a Certificate, Anno 1638. of their continuing in conformity to the Church of England; nor did ever any of these named, relapse again, but only the Countess of Buckingham, and Sir William Spencer; it being only in GOD's Power, not mine, to preserve them from Relapse.*

*And now let any Clergyman of England come forth and give a better account of his Zeal to the Church.*

Soon after the Commons having drawn an Ordinance of Attainder of High-Treason upon the Evidence given in against him, on the second of *November* following (after its second reading) the Archbishop was brought to the Bar of the House of Commons, where *Mr. Brown*, in his Presence, repeated to that House the Summ of the whole Evidence given in against him before the Lords; the doing whereof took up about Three Hours time. To which the Archbishop was required to give his Answer *viva voce*; who moved that he might have time convenient given him for the same, in respect of the tedious length and weight of the Charge: which was granted till the 11th of the same Month. At which time he spake at large for some Hours, in his own Defence, at the Commons Bar. Where to *Mr. Brown* then replied in his Presence: And thereupon, the same Day, that House passed the Ordinance for his Attainder of High-Treason, with but one dissenting Vote, which on the sixteenth following was transmitted to the House of Peers: And because some of the Lords were not present at the giving in all the Evidence against him, during his long Trial (which lasted seventeen Days) they order'd, *December 4.* that all Books, Writings, Dockets, and Evidences concerning the Tryal before the Lords in Parliament, should be brought in to the Clerk of the Parliament. After which the Lords proceeded to the Consideration of every Particular of the Charge (putting each to the Question as they passed) and, at a Conference, *December 24.* acquainted the Commons that they had found,



found the Archbishop guilty of the Charge, as to matters of Fact, but desired some further Satisfaction in *point of Law*; whether the said Matters were *Treason*. Whereupon, on the 26th of *December*, the Commons appointed a Committee to draw up Reasons to satisfy the Lords therein; which were communicated at a Conference, *January 2*, by Serjeant *Wyld*, Mr. *Brown*, and Mr. *Nicholas*, to the Lords; who thereupon, on the 4th of *January*, passed the Ordinance of Attainder, whereby it was Ordain'd that he should suffer Death as in Cases of High *Treason*. And, on the 6th of *January*, it was ordered, by both Houses, that he should suffer accordingly on *Friday* the 10th. But, on the 7th, the Lords, at a Conference, acquainted the Commons with a Letter and Petition from the Archbishop, and a Pardon to him from the King, dated the 12th of *April*, 19. *Car.* of which he desired the Benefit; but the same was overruled and rejected. His Petition was, That in case he must Die, Dr. *Stern*, Dr. *Heywood*, and Dr. *Martin*, might be permitted to be with him before, and at his Death, to administer Comfort to his Soul; and that the manner of his Execution might be altered unto Beheading. To which the Lords agreed; but the Commons then refused both, and only granted that Dr. *Stern*, Mr. *Marshal*, and Mr. *Palmer*, should go to him, and one or both of the latter to be constantly present, while Dr. *Stern* was with him. But the next Day, upon another Petition of his, setting forth Reasons, from his being a Divine, a Bishop, one that had had the Honour to Sit in the House of Peers, and of the King's most Honourable Privy Council, &c. praying, in those Regards, not to be exposed to such an Ignominious Death, the Commons consented to remit the rest of the Sentence, and that he should suffer Death, by being Beheaded.

### Sir John Hotham and his Son, Tryed and Executed.

A Bout the middle of *June*, 1642. Sir John Vol. II.  
*Meldrum* seized Captain *John Hotham* in Pag. 620.  
 his Bed, and sent him Prisoner to *Nottingham*-  
 Castle, from whence he found means to escape, and went  
 to *Lincoln*; and from thence soon after to his Father at *Hull*.  
 On

On the 28th of *June*, a Letter was sent from Captain *Moyer*, a Sea-Captain, to one Mr. *Robert Ripley* in *Hull*; praying him to acquaint the Mayor, That there was a dangerous Plot on foot against that Town, from the Treachery of Sir *John Hotham*, the Governour, which would, that Night or the next, be put in Execution, if not prevented. Of this, private notice was given about Ten a Clock at Night, to such as were most Zealous for the Parliament; and, by Three or Four a Clock next Morning, about 1500 Townsmen were in Arms, who seized upon Captain *Hotham* and all that had any Relation to the Governour. Soon after Sir *John* himself was taken; he and his Son were sent to *London*, *July* 15, and committed to the *Tower*.

*November* 30. 1644. Sir *John Hotham* was brought before the Court Martial in *Guild-Hall*, Sir *William Waller* being President. The Substance of the Charge against him was, That he had Traiterously betrayed the Trust reposed in him by the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemy; which would be proved by his Words, his Letters, and his Actions, viz. his Correspondence with the Lord *Digby*, and the Marquess of *Newcastle*; his Refusal to supply the Lord *Fairfax* with Powder, Arms, and Ammunition, to the great Disservice of the Parliament, and the Prejudice of their Affairs in *Yorkshire*; his uttering divers Slandorous Words against the Parliament and close Committee; his endeavouring to betray the Town of *Hull* to the Enemy; his holding a Correspondence with the Queen, by several Messengers; his causing a *Demi-Culverin* to be placed on the Top of the Castle against the Town, and two Pieces in the Block-House, to give Fire on the Parliament-Ships; his sending away Captain *Moyer*, Captain of the great Ship called, *The Hercules*; his quitting of the Garrison at *Beverley*, which was a great means to streighten *Hull*; and, lastly, his endeavours to escape as soon as he conceived his Design discovered: For proof of all which, about Thirty Witnesses were produced and examined.

His Son, Captain *John Hotham*, came to his Trial, before the same Court, *December* 9. where he was charged, that he had betrayed the Trust in him reposed, and perfidiously adhered to the Enemy, and endeavour'd to betray a Regiment of Horse into their Hands; that he held several private Treaties, under pretence of exchanging Prisoners, with the Earl of *Newcastle*; that he had omitted several Opportuni-

ties

ties to Fight with the Enemy ; and that he had given out many Scandalous and Invective Speeches against the Parliament.

The Son sent Petitions to the Lords and Commons, for his Life, which availing nothing, he was, on *January* the 1st brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, where he spake as followeth :

Gentlemen,

**Y**OU see in what a Condition I stand, you all come here to look upon me as a spectacle of Shame and Justice : And I believe many of you are possess'd with apprehension of great Crimes and Treasons I have committed against the Parliament : Those things, I must declare to you all, this Conscience knows no guilt of. What I have advantaged the Parliament's Cause is notorious ; and that I did never disadvantage it, I think is proved also. I have been very violent in the Parliament, and did many things according to the Swinge of the Times. I did engage my self in their Cause ; I did them Service in possessing of Hull ; I preserved the Forts, Magazine, Towns and Forces, and never miscarried in any Attempt. It hath pleased GOD to bring me to this End, for my Sins against Him, which I acknowledge to be just ; but not for any Treason against the Parliament : Neither do I know any Treason, or Intention of Treason in my poor Father who lies in the same Condition that I do, whatever other Men do call Treason. This I testify to all here.

The next Day, Sir John Hotham was conducted to the same place, attended by Mr. Peters, where he spake as followeth :

Gentlemen,

**I** Know no more of myself but this, That I deserve this death from Almighty GOD, nay, that I deserve Damnation and the severest Punishments from Him. But as for the business of Hull, the betraying of it from the Parliament, the Ministers have all been with me, and given me good Counsel ; neither was I any ways guilty of it ; that is all I can say to that Act. For other Offences, rash Words, Anger, and such things, no Man hath been more guilty ; I beseech GOD to forgive me. I have received as many

Favours



*Favours as any Man, from GOD, and I have been as ungrateful as any Man could be: But GOD Almighty, I hope, has forgiven me my Sins, and I desire you all to pray to GOD for me, that I may be forgiven.*

*I hope GOD Almighty will forgive me, the Parliament, and the Court-Martial, and all Men that have had any thing to do with my Death. And, Gentlemen, I thank this worthy Gentleman \* for putting me in mind of it; and I pray GOD bring more things into my Memory. And, Gentlemen, look to it all, as I: I have received many Mercies from GOD, and have been unfruitful, ungrateful to Him under them; and GOD Almighty hath let me see, that though for this Offence whereof I am accused, He hath not done it; yet He hath brought this Affliction upon me to save my Soul, by and through the Merits of JESUS CHRIST: For, alas, this Affliction is nothing to all my Sins: GOD Almighty kept me from my Trial at St. Alban's and other Places, to bring me to this Place, that I hope I shall glorify GOD in, and His Blessed Name be for ever glorified.*

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\* H. Peters.

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*The Substance of what passed between King Charles I. and Mr. Henderson, concerning Church-Government.*

Clarendon *King.* I Was always very confident that [the  
Vol. III. Reformation, ( being wrought legally  
Pag. 31. and orderly, by those who had the Power to  
reform ) was very perfect; as to Essentials; of  
which number Church-Government being undoubtedly  
one, I make no question but that would have been likewise  
alter'd, if there had been Cause. Which Opinion of mine  
was soon turn'd into more than a Confidence, when I per-  
ceiv'd that in this particular (as I must say of all the rest)  
we retain'd nothing, but according as it was deduced from  
the Apostles to be the constant, universal Custom of the Primi-  
tive Church; and that it was of such consequence, as by the  
alteration of it we should deprive ourselves of a lawful  
Priesthood; and then, how the Sacraments can be duly ad-  
ministred

ministred, is easy to judge. These are the principal Reasons which make me believe that Bishops are necessary for a Church; and, I think, sufficient for me (if I had no more) not to give my consent for their expulsion out of *England*. But I have another Obligation, that, to my particular, is a no less tie of Conscience, which is my *Coronation Oath*. Now if (as *St. Paul* says) *he that doubteth is damned if he eat*, what can I expect, if I should not only give way knowingly to my People's sinning, but likewise be perjur'd myself?

*Henderson*. Your Majesty reverences the Reformation, as being done legally and orderly, and by those that had the Power. I wish it were not committed to the Prelates, who have greatest need to be reform'd themselves; nor left to the Multitude, whom GOD stirs up when Princes are negligent. The Glory of this great Work, we hope, is reserved for your Majesty; which yet will be no dispraise to your Royal Father, or *Edward VI.* or any other Religious Princes before you; none of them having so fair an opportunity as is now by the Supreme Providence put into your Royal Hands. My Soul trembleth to think, and to foresee what may be the event, if this opportunity be neglected.

To the Argument brought by your Majesty for Bishops, I humbly offer these Considerations: 1. What was not in the Times of the Apostles cannot be deduced from them. But there was no such Hierarchy, no such difference between a Bishop and a Presbyter in the Times of the Apostles; and therefore it cannot thence be deduced. For I conceive it to be as clear as if it were written with a Sunbeam, that Presbyter and Bishop are to the Apostles one and the same thing. 2. The Apostles very exactly setting down all the Offices and Officers of the Church, do no where express or imply any such Pastor or Bishop as hath Power over other Pastors. 3. In all Orders of Ministers mention'd in the New-Testament, as Apostles, Evangelists, Doctors, &c. there is a parity in their own kind: Why then a Pastor above other Pastors? 4. All the Parts of the Ministry, the Power of Order and Jurisdiction, are by the Apostles declared to be common to the Presbyter and Bishop. And that, *Matt. xv. 16, 17.* the Gradation in Matters of Discipline or Church-Censures, is from one to two or more; and, *if he shall neglect them, tell it to the Church*: He saith not, Tell it to the Bishop: there is no place left to a Retrogradation from more to one,  
were

were he never so eminent. 5. I beseech your Majesty to take notice of the fallacy of that Argument, from the Practice of the Primitive Church, and the universal Consent of the Fathers. We can have no certain knowledge of the practice universal of the Church for many Years. *Eusebius*, the prime Historian, confesseth as much; and so doth the Learned *Joseph Scaliger*. 6. I will never think that your Majesty will deny the lawfulness of a Ministry, and the due Administration of the Sacraments in the Reformed Churches which have no Diocesan Bishops, since it is not only manifest by Scripture, but a great many of the strongest Champions for Episcopacy do confess, that Presbyters may ordain other Presbyters; and that Baptism administer'd by a private Person wanting a publick Calling, or by a Midwife, and by a Presbyter, altho' not ordain'd by a Bishop, are not one and the same thing. 7. Concerning your Majesty's *Coronation-Oath*, I confess that both in the taking and keeping of an Oath much tenderness is required. No human Authority can dispence with an Oath; yet in some Cases the Obligation of an Oath ceaseth: As when we swear Homage and Obedience to our Lord and Superior, who afterwards ceaseth to be such; then the formal Cause of the Oath is taken away, and consequently the Obligation. Or when any Oath hath a special reference to the Benefit of those to whom I make the Promise, if we have their Desire or Consent, the Obligation ceaseth; because all such Oaths, from the nature of the thing, do include a Condition. When the Parliaments of both Kingdoms have covenanted for the abolishing or altering a Law, your Majesty's Oath doth not bind you to the observing of it. 8. Your Majesty's Royal Father never admitted *Episcopacy* upon Divine Right; he conceived the Prelates to favour of the Popish Hierarchy; and could his Ghost now speak, he would not advise your Majesty to run such hazards for those Men who will chuse rather to pull down your Throne, with their own ruine, than that they perish alone.

*King.* You speak much of the Identity of Bishop and Presbyter in the New-Testament: If you had made appear the Practice of the *Presbyterian Government* in the *Primitive Times*, you had done much: I affirm that this Government was never practis'd before *Calvin's Time*. And if the practice of the *Primitive Church*, and the *universal Consent of the Fathers* be not a convincing Argument (though  
you



you call it a Fallacy) when the Interpretation of Scripture is doubtful, I know nothing. When I am made a Judge over the *Reformed Churches*, then, and not before, will I censure their Actions; as you must prove before I confess it, that *Presbyters without a Bishop may lawfully ordain other Presbyters*.

As to the Obligation of my Coronation Oath, you much mistake, in alledging that the *Two Houses of Parliament* (especially as they are now constituted) can release me; for besides that they are not named in it, I am confident to make it clearly appear to you, that this Church never did submit, nor was subordinate to them; and that it was only the *King and Clergy* who made the *Reformation*, the *Parliament* merely serving to help to give the *Civil Sanction*. All this being proved, it must necessarily follow, that it is only the *Church of England*, in whose favour I took this Oath, that can release me from it. Concerning the *King my Father*, I must tell you, I had the Happiness to know him much better than you; wherefore I desire you not to be too confident in the knowledge of his Opinions. For I dare say, should his Ghost now speak, he would tell you, that a *Bloody Reformation was never lawful, as not warranted by GOD's Word*; and that *Preces & lacrymæ sunt arma Ecclesiæ*.

*Hend.* Concerning Reformation, it is not denied but the Prince-reforming Power is in Kings and Princes; if they fail, it comes to the Inferior Magistrate; if these fail it descends to the Body of the People.

*King.* I utterly deny, that the *Inferior Magistrate or People* have Power to Reform; I think all *Popular Reformation* little better than *Rebellion*. For I hold no Authority lawful, but that which is either directly given, or, at least, approved by GOD; which when you prove the People's to be, I submit; otherwise you do nothing.

*Hend.* Learned Men have observed many Defects in the *English Reformation*; as that the Government of the Church of *England* is not built upon the Foundation of CHRIST and his Apostles; that the *Roman Leaven* is not perfectly purged out; that it hath depraved the Discipline of the Church, by conforming it to the Civil Policy; that it hath added many Offices unto those instituted by the Son of GOD.

*King.* Your first assertion well proved, would be sufficient; but in that, I conceive, you will be very defective. As for the retaining of *Roman Leaven*, you must prove it as

well as say it. But that the conforming the *Church-Discipline* to the *Civil Policy* should be a depraving of it, I absolutely deny; for I averr, that without it the Church can neither Flourish nor be Happy. And, for your last Instance, you will do well to shew the Prohibition of our Saviour against addition of more Officers in the Church than he named: And yet in one sense, I do not conceive that the Church of *England* hath added any; for an *Archbishop* is only a Distinction for *Order of Government*.

*Hend.* I have offer'd Reasons to prove, that a Bishop and Presbyter are one and the same in Scripture. The Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, have made it manifest, that the Primitive Christian Church at *Jerusalem* was governed by a Presbytery.

*King.* Where you find a *Bishop* and *Presbyter* in Scripture to be one and the same (which I deny to be always so) it is in the Apostles Time: Now I think to prove the order of Bishops succeeded that of the Apostles; and that the Name was chiefly alter'd in reverence to those who were immediately chosen by our Saviour; so that I believe this Argument makes little for you. As for your proof of the Antiquity of *Presbyterian Government*, it is well that the *Assembly of Divines*, at *Westminster*, can do more than *Eusebius* could; and I shall believe when I see it: For your former Assertion was, That those Times were very dark for matter of Fact; and will be so still for me, if you have no clearer Arguments to prove it. Indeed if I cannot prove by Antiquity, that Ordination and Jurisdiction belong to Bishops, (thereby clearly distinguishing them from other Presbyters) I shall then begin to misdoubt many of my former Foundations.

*Hend.* Altho' your Majesty be not made a Judge of the Reformed Churches, yet you so far censure them and their Actions, as without Bishops, in your Judgment, they cannot have a lawful Ministry, nor a due Administration of the Sacraments. Against which dangerous and destructive Opinion, I did alledge what I supposed your Majesty would not have denied. 1. That Presbyters without a Bishop may ordain other Presbyters. 2. That Baptism administred by such a Presbyter is another thing than Baptism administred by a Private Person, or by a Midwife. A private Person may perform the external Action and Rites both of Baptism and the Eucharist; yet is neither of the two a Sacrament, or hath any Efficacy, unless it be done by him that is lawfully called

led thereunto, or by a Person made publick, and cloathed with Authority by Ordination. This Error in the matter of Baptism is begot by another Error, of the absolute Necessity of *Baptism*.

*King.* As I am no Judge over the *Reformed Churches*, so neither do I censure them; for many things may be avowable upon *Necessity*, which otherwise are *unlawful*. But know once for all, that I esteem nothing the better, because it is done by such a *particular Church* (tho' it were by the Church of *England*, which I avow most to reverence) but I esteem that Church most which comes nearest to the *Purity of the Primitive Doctrine and Discipline*, as I believe this doth. Tho' I do not think any Authority equal to the *Scriptures*, yet I do think, *the unanimous consent of the Fathers, and the universal Practice of the Primitive Church, to be the best and most authentical Interpreters of GOD's Word*, and consequently the fittest Judges between me and you, when we differ, until you shall find me a better.

*The Declaration of Mr. Alexander Henderson, Principal Minister of the Word of GOD at Edenbrough, and Chief Commissioner from the Kirk of Scotland to the Parliament and Synod of England: Made upon his Deathbed.*

WHEREAS the greatest part of the distemper'd People of these miserable distracted Kingdoms, have been and are, wofully abused and misled with malicious Misinformations against His Sacred Majesty, especially in point of Religion and Moral-Wisdom; whereof, I confess with great Grief of Heart, myself to have been (amongst many more of my Coat) none of the least; who out of Imaginary Fears and Jealousies, were made real Instruments to advance this unnatural War, wherein so much Innocent Protestant Blood hath been shed, and so much downright Robbery committed, without Fear, or Shame of Sin; to the scandal of the true Reformed Religion, as cannot but draw down heavy Judgments from Heaven upon these infatuated Nations, and more particularly upon us who should have instructed them in the way of Truth, Peace, and Obedience.



I conceived it the Duty of a good Christian, especially one of my Profession, and in the Condition that I lie, expecting GOD Almighty's Call, not only to acknowledge to the Al-merciful GOD, with a humble sincere remorse of Conscience, the greatness of this Offence ; which being done in Simplicity of Spirit, I hope, with the Apostle *Paul*, to obtain Mercy, because I did it through Ignorance: But also, for the better satisfaction of all others, to publish this *Declaration* to the view of the World ; to the intent, that all those (especially of the Ministry) who have been deluded with me, may by GOD's Grace, and my Example (tho' a weak and mean Instrument) not only be undeceived themselves, but also stirred up to undeceive others with more alacrity and facility ; that the Scandal may be removed from our Religion and Profession, and the good King restored to his just Rights, and truly honoured and obeyed as GOD's Anointed and Vicegerent upon Earth ; and the poor distressed Subjects freed from those intolerable Burdens and Oppressions which they lie groaning under, piercing Heaven with their Tears and Cries ; and a solid Peace settled both in Kirk and Commonwealth, throughout all His Majesty's Dominions, to the glory of GOD, and of our blessed Mediator and Saviour the *Lord CHRIST*.

I do therefore *Declare* before GOD and the World, that since I had the Honour and Happiness to converse and conferr with His Majesty, with all sort of freedom ; especially in Matters of Religion, whether in relation to the Kirk or State (which like *Hypocrates* Twins are linked together) that I found him the most Intelligent Man that ever I spoke with ; as far beyond my Expression, as Expectation, grounded upon the Information that was given me (before I knew him) by such as I thought should have known him. I profess that I was oft-times astonish'd with the solidity and quickness of his Reasons and Replies ; wondred how he, spending his time so much in Sports and Recreations, could have attained to so great Knowledge, and must confess ingenuously, that I was convinced in Conscience, and knew not how to give him any reasonable Satisfaction ; yet the sweetness of his Disposition is such, that whatsoever I said was well taken : I must say, that I never met with any Disputant (let be a King, and in Matters of so high Concernment) of that mild and calm Temper, which convinced me the more, and made me think that such Wisdom and Moderation could not be without an  
extra-

extraordinary measure of Divine Grace. I had heard much of his Carriage towards the Priests in *Spain*, and that King *James* told the Duke of *Buckingham*, upon his going thither, *That he durst venture his Son Charles with all the Jesuits in the World*, he knew him to be so well grounded in the Protestant Religion, but could never believe it before.

I observed all his Actions, more particularly those of Devotion, which, I must truly say, are more than ordinary: I informed myself of others who had served him from his Infancy, and they all assured me, that there was nothing new, or much enlarged, in regard of his Troubles, either in his private or publick Way of Exercise; twice a Day constantly, Morning and Evening, for an Hour's space, in private; twice a Day, before Dinner and Supper, in publick, besides Preachings upon *Sundays*, *Tuesdays*, and other extraordinary Times; and no Business, tho' never so weighty and urgent, can make him forget or neglect this his Tribute and Duty to Almighty *GOD*. O that those who sit now at the Helm of these Weather-beaten Kingdoms, had but one half of his true Piety and Wisdom! I dare say that the poor oppressed Subject should not be plunged into so deep Gulfs of Impiety and Misery, without Compassion or Pity: I dare say, if his Advice had been followed, all the Blood that is shed, and all the Rapine that is committed, should have been prevented.

If I should speak of his Justice, Magnanimity, Charity, Sobriety, Chastity, Patience, Humility, and of all his both Christian and Moral Vertues, I should run myself into a Panegyrick, and seem to flatter him to such as do not know him, if the present Condition that I lie in did not exempt me from any such suspicion of worldly Ends, when I expect every Hour to be called from all transitory Vanities to eternal Felicity; and the discharging of my Conscience before *GOD* and Men, did not oblige me to declare the Truth simply and nakedly, in satisfaction of that which I have done Ignorantly, tho' not altogether Innocently.

If I should relate what I have received from good hands, and partly can witness of my own knowledge, since these unhappy Troubles began, I should enlarge myself into a History: Let these brief Characters suffice. No Man can say that there is conspicuously any predominant Vice in him, a rare thing in a Man, but far rarer in a King: Never Man saw him passionately Angry, or extraordinarily moved, either

with Prosperity or Adversity, having had as great Trials as ever any King had : Never Man heard him Curse or given to Swearing : Never Man heard him Complain, or bemoan his Condition, in the greatest durance of War and Confinement ; when he was separated from his dearest Consort, and deprived of the Comfort of his Innocent Children, the hopefullest Princes that ever were in these ingrate Kingdoms ; when he was denuded of his Counsellors and Domestick Servants : No Man can complain of the Violation of his Wife or Daughters, tho' he hath had too many Temptations in the prime of his Age, by the inforced absence of his Wife, which would be hardly taken by the meanest of his Subjects : and (which is beyond all admiration) being stript of all Counsel and Help of Man, and used so harshly as would have stupified any other Man, then did his undaunted Courage, and transcendent Wisdom shew itself more clearly, and vindicate him from the obloquy of former Times, to the astonishment of his greatest Enemies : I confess this did so take me that I could not but see the hand of GOD in it, and which will render his Name Glorious, and (I greatly fear) ours Ignominious to all Posterity ; he stands fast to his Grounds, and doth not rise and fall with Success, the brittle Square of humane Actions, and is ever ready to forgive all by past Injuries to settle a present solid Peace, and future Tranquility, for the good of his Subjects ; nay, for their Cause he is content to forego so many of his own known, *undoubted just Rights, as may stand with their safety, as Salus populi est Spurema Lex, so, & si parendum est patri in eo tamen non parendum quo efficitur ut non sit Pater.* [Seneca.]

I confess that I could have wished an Establishment of our Presbyterial Government in the Kirk of *England*, for the better *Union* between them and us, but I find the Constitution of that Kingdom, and Disposition of that Nation so generally opposite, that it is not to be expected : They are a People naturally inclined to Freedom, and so bred in Riches and Plenty, that they can hardly be induced to embrace any Discipline that may any ways abridge their Liberty and Pleasures. That which we esteem a Godly Kirk Policy, instituted by the *Lord CHRIST*, and his Apostles, is no better to them than a kind of Slavery ; and some do not stick to call it worse than the *Spanish* Inquisition : Nay, even the greatest part of those who invited us to assist them in it, and sent hither their Commissioners to induce us to enter into a solemn



solemn National Covenant for that effect, having served their turn of us, to throw down the King and the Prelatical Party, and to possess themselves with the Supreme Government both of Kirk and State; are now inventing Evasions to be rid of us, and to delude it, some of them publishing openly, in Pulpits and Print, That the Sacred Covenant was never intended for the Godly, but only as a Trap to ensnare the Malignants; which cannot but bring heavy Judgments from Heaven, and, I am afraid, make a greater disunion between these Nations, than ever was before: Like unto that *bellum Gallicum, quod sexcentis fœderibus compositum, semper renovabatur* [Canon. lib. 3. Chron in heret. 5. An. Dom. 1118.] with a deluge of Christian Blood, and almost ruine of both Parties; or like unto that *Bellum Rusticorum in Germania, in quo supra centena millia Rusticorum occubuerunt.* [idem An. Dom. 1524.] Or most of all, both in Manner and Subject, resembling that of *John of Leyden, Munser and Knoperduling,* [idem An. 1534.] which took its rise from the former; so many different Sects spring up daily more and more amongst them, which all, like *Ephraim* and *Manasses*, *Herod* and *Pilate*, conspire against the Lord's Anointed, and the true Protestant Religion.

The City of *London*, that was so forward in the beginning of this glorious Reformation, surpasses now *Amsterdam* in number of Sects, and may be compared to Old *Rome*, *Quæ cum omnibus penè gentibus dommaretur omnium gentium erroribus serviebat, & magnam sibi videbatur assumpsisse Religionem quia nullam respuebat falsitatem.* [Leo in Serm. de Petro & Paulo. app.] their Transgressions are like to bring them to that Confusion of the *Israelites* when they had no King [Judg. 21.] every one did what seemed good in his own eyes, because they feared not the Lord; [Josh. 10.] they said, *What should a King do to us?* The *Young-men* presumed to be wiser than the *Elder*, [Isai. 3.] the *viler* sort despised the *honourable*, [Lament. ult.] and the very *Serving-men* ruled over them.

I profess, when I saw these things so clearly, I could not blame the King to be so backward in giving his assent to the settling of our Presbyterial Discipline in that Kirk, for the great Inconveniences that might follow thereupon, to Him and his Posterity, there being so many strong Corporations in that Kingdom to lead on a popular Government, such a number of People that have either no, or broken Estates,

who are ready to drive on any Alteration, and so weak and powerless a Nobility to hinder it: *Multos dulcedo prædærum, plures Res angustæ vel ambiguæ domi alios scelerum Conscientia stimulabat.* [C. Tacit.]

Let me therefore exhort and conjure you, in the words of a dying Man, and Bowels of our Lord CHRIST, to stand fast to your Covenant, and not to suffer yourselves to be abused with fain'd Pretences, and made wicked Instruments to wrong the Kirk and the King, of their just Rights and Patrimony.

Remember the last Prophetical Words of our first blessed Reformer, that after the subduing of the Papists, foretold us the great Battle remain'd against manifold Temptations of the Devil, the World, and the Flesh, and especially against the Sacrilegious Devourers of the Kirk-Rents, which will not be wanting now with Baits cunningly laid upon golden Hooks, to ensnare the greatest amongst you both in Kirk and State: But I beseech you, in the words of our blessed Saviour, to be *wise as Serpents and mild as Doves*; let no worldly Consideration induce you to slide back from the true meaning of our Holy Covenant with the all-seeing GOD; who punished *Saul* in his Sons, for the breach even of an unlawful Covenant with the *Gibeonites*, [2 Sam. 21.]

Remember the Supplication of the General Assembly at *Edinburgh*, given in to the Earl of *Trawhaire*, [Sess. 23. Act. 2.] His Majesty's High Commissioner, 12 Aug. 1639. recorded both in the publick Register of our Kirk and Parliament, whereby to obviate malign Aspersions [2 Caroli, Act. 5. Sess. 7. Junij. 1640.] that branded us maliciously with an Intention to shake off Civil and Dutiful Obedience due to Sovereignty, [verbatim ex Registro] and to diminish the King's Greatness and Authority, and for clearing of our Loyalty; We, in our Names, and in the Name of all the rest of the Subjects and Congregations whom we represent, did in all humility represent to His Grace, and the Lords of His Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council, and declared before GOD and the World, that we never had, nor have any thought of withdrawing ourselves from that humble and dutiful Obedience to His Majesty and His Government, which, by the descent, and under the Reign of 107 Kings, is most cheerfully acknowledged by us and our Predecessors; and we never had, nor have any Intention or Desire to attempt any thing that may tend to the Dishonour of GOD,

or Diminution of the King's Greatness and Authority, but, on the contrary, acknowledging with all humble Thankfulness, the many recent Favours bestowed upon us by His Majesty, and that our Quietness, Stability, and Happiness, depends upon the safety of the King's Majesty's Person, and maintenance of his Greatness and Royal Authority, who is GOD's Vicegerent, set over us for the maintenance of Religion and administration of Justice, we did solemnly swear, not only our mutual Concurrence and Assistance for the Cause of Religion, and to the uttermost of our Power, with our Means and Lives, to stand to the Defence of our Dread Sovereign, his Person and Authority, in the Preservation and Defence of the true Religion, Laws, and Liberties of this Kirk and Kingdom; but also in every Cause, which may concern His Majesty's Honour, to concur with our Friends and Followers in quiet manner or in Arms, as we should be required of His Majesty, his Council, or any, having his Authority, according to the Laws of this Kingdom, and the Duty of good Subjects.

And, tho' some malignant Spirits wrest maliciously some words of our Covenant, *Act. 3.* contrary to the true meaning thereof, as if we intended thereby to restrain our Allegiance contrary to the Apostle's Precept and nature of our Duty, and make Religion a back-door for Rebellion to enter in at; if there be any of the simpler zealous sort, that conceive the sense to be such, or if there be any others that would make use of it for their politick Ends, we disclaim them: And, I declare before GOD and the World, that it was far from the intention of those that contrived it, to wrong the King and his Posterity, as the plain words of that Article, in the close, do clearly bear; and the foresaid Supplication doth manifestly declare, their intent being only to have settled a Conformity in Kirk-Government throughout all His Majesty's Dominions, which they conceived would have strengthened His Majesty's Authority, and made Him and his Posterity more glorious: but since we find many invincible Difficulties and intolerable Inconveniences arise, chiefly from those who invited us to enter therein, for their assistance in the accomplishment thereof in that Kirk, and so clearly that they intend to delude us with vain Glosses and Distinctions, to the destruction of true Protestant Religion, and Monarchical Government, and perceive, to our great Grief, that we have been abused with most false Aspersions against His Majesty,

the



the most Religious, Prudent, and best of Kings. I do further declare, before GOD and the World, that they are guilty of the breach of the Sacred Covenant, and that we have discharged our Duty thereof (which is only promissory and conditional, as all Oaths *de futuro* are) by endeavouring to effectuate it, *quantum in nobis erat*; and that we are absolved, *in foro Poli & Soli*, of any Oath or Vow contained therein, in so far as concerns the settling of Religion in the Kirk of *England* and *Ireland*, and that we are only bound thereby to preserve the Reformation of Religion in our own Kirk and Kingdom, confirmed by His Sacred Majesty in Parliament, and to restore our Native King to his Just Rights, Royal Throne and Dignity, in as full and ample a manner as ever any of his Royal Predecessors enjoyed them, and that the Mouths of all Malignants may be stopped, that it may not be said, Presbytery fetters Monarchy, as Independency destroys it, who cast up to us the Holy League and Covenant of *France*, as a Pattern on the mount of ours.

Therefore I exhort and conjure you, again and again, in the Bowels of our Lord *CHRIST*, and Words of a dying Man, especially my Brethren of the Ministry, as you expect a Blessing from GOD upon this distressed, distracted Kirk and Kingdom, upon you and your Posterity; as you desire to remove GOD's heavy Judgments from this miserable Land, the Sword and Pestilence, and what else may follow, which I tremble to think of; to stand fast and firm to this Point of your Covenant, which you were bound to before, by the Law of GOD and of this Land, and never suffer yourselves, by all the gilded Allurements of this World, which will prove bitter and deceitful at last, to relinquish it: Stand fast to your Native King, most gracious to this Land, far beyond all his Predecessors; none owes greater Obligation to him than the Ministry and Gentry, let not an Indelible Character of Ingratitude lie upon us that may turn to our ruine. The Protestants of *France*, when they were happy in the free profession of their Religion, suffer'd themselves to be abused and misled by some Great Ones, unto a Rebellion against *Lewis XIII.* their Natural King, which cost many of them their Lives and Estates, and the loss of all their Hostage Towns, and might have endanger'd their Liberty of Conscience, if the King had not been very gracious to them; the Templers Pride and Ambition rendred them formidable to all Christian Kings, and made them to be cut off in the twinkling of an Eye. The

Jesuits

Jesuits are running headlong to that same height ; and our Bishops, not contenting themselves with Moderation, were made Instruments of their own destruction ; as some of our Brethren before, by their Indiscretion, inforced King James to set them up ; wherefore I beseech you, my Brethren of the Ministry, to carry yourselves mildly toward all Men, *Tit. 3.* and obediently towards the King and his subordinate Officers, *Rom. 13.* Preach Salvation to your Flocks, *1 Pet. 2.* and meddle not with them that are Seditious ; keep yourselves within the Bounds of our Blessed Saviour's, *Prov. 24.* Commission, and do not, as the Bishops did, intrench upon the Civil Magistrates Authority, that ye may live in Peace and Godliness together, as becometh the Messengers of the Lord CHRIST. *Non eripit terrestria qui Regna dat cœlistia.*

GOD of his Mercy grant you all, the Spirit of Love and Union, that you may join as one Man to redeem the Honour of this ancient Nation, which lies a bleeding in Foreign Parts, where it was once so famous for its Valour and Fidelity, even to Foreign Kings ; to redeem it, I say, even with your Lives and Fortunes, according to your Solemn Covenant, and the Duty of your Allegiance to your Native King ; Consider, I beseech you, your own Interests, besides Honour and Conscience, and never rest until you have restored him fully to his Royal Throne and Dignity ; let us, his Native Subjects, be his best Shield and Buckler, under GOD, to defend him from all Enemies, and to transmit his Scepter to his Posterity, so long as the Sun and Moon endureth, and let our Forces be employed for the Restitution of the most Religious and Vertuous Queen of *Bohemia* and her distressed Children, to their just Inheritance, and for the pulling down of the Antichrist, and enlarging of our Lord CHRIST's Kingdom throughout all the World.

C. Tacitus.

*In tanta Republicæ necessitudine, suspecto Senatus, populi Imperio ob certamina potentium & avaritiam Magistratum invalido legum auxilio, quæ vi, ambitu, postremo pecunia turbabantur ; omnem potestatem ad unum reddere Pacis interfuit, non aliud discordantis Patriæ remedium quam ut ab uno regeretur.*

*Belleivre's Negotiations with the Parliament.*

Vol. III.  
Pag. 31.

**M**onsieur *Belleivre*, Ambassador extraordinary from the Crown of *France*, being lately arrived, had this Day Audience in both Houses, being received in great State: The Substance of what he delivered was, That he had in command, from the Queen Regent and the King of *France*, to interpose and endeavour a good Reconciliation and composure of the Differences between His Majesty of *Great Britain* and the Parliament of *England*: But understanding in what forwardness they were, and that Propositions were already dispatched to His Majesty, he had no more to do at present, with the Parliament, but to take his leave of them, and to desire their Pass to go unto the King, and to the States of *Scotland*.

Which business being taken into Consideration by the House of Commons, *July 22.* a Letter was agreed upon in answer to the said Ambassador, to this Effect: That they took in very good part, and received with all thankfulness, the good affections and intentions of the *French* Crown to these Kingdoms, and his willingness to see these Troubles over; for ending whereof they have done their utmost, and shall still continue so to do. But they could not agree, that any Foreign State interpose in the present remaining Differences; nor that His Majesty of *France*, in particular, by his present extraordinary Ambassador, should so do. But for the Pass desired, they did agree to it, That the said Ambassador pass freely without any interruption or disturbance, and be used with all respect and civility, according to his Quality.

Whereunto the Lords concurred, and the Pass was Signed by the Speakers of both Houses. And, understanding that the said Ambassador had taken his Journey from *London* the Night before, towards the King, without the Answer or Pass from the Houses, the same was sent Post after him by Sir *Peter Killigrew*.



*The King's Letters about his Chaplains.*

For the Speaker of the House of Peers, *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*.

Since I have never dissembled nor hid my Con- Pag. 39.  
science, and that I am not yet satisfied with  
the Alteration of Religion, to which you desire my Consent,  
I will not yet lose time in giving Reasons, which are too  
obvious to every body, why it is fit for me to be attended by  
some of my Chaplains, whose Opinions, as Clergymen, I e-  
steem and reverence; not only for the Exercise of my Con-  
science, but also for clearing of my Judgment concerning  
the present differences in Religion; as I have at full declar-  
ed to Mr. Marshal and his Fellow-Minister, having shew'd  
them that it is the best and likeliest means of giving me  
Satisfaction, which, without it, I cannot have in these  
times, whereby the Distractions of this Church may be the  
better settled. Wherefore I desire that, at least, two of  
these Reverend Divines, whose Names I have here set down,  
may have free Liberty to wait upon me, for their dischar-  
ging of their Duty unto me according to their Function.

Holdenby, 17. Feb.  
1646.

CHARLES R.

B. London.  
B. Salisbury.  
B. Peterborough.  
D. Shelden, Clerk of my  
Closet.  
D. Marsh, Dean of York.  
D. Sanderson.

D. Baily.  
D. Heywood.  
D. Beal.  
D. Fuller.  
D. Hammond.  
D. Taylor.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers, *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the Two Houses of Parliament at Westminster.

**I**T being now Seventeen Days since I wrote to you from hence, and not yet receiving any Answer to what I then desired, I cannot but now again renew the same unto you. And indeed, concerning any thing but the necessary Duty of a Christian, I would not thus, at this time, trouble you with any of my desires. But my being attended with some of my Chaplains, whom I esteem and reverence, is so necessary for me, even, considering my present Condition, whether it be in relation to my Conscience, or a happy settlement of the present Distractions in Religion, that I will slight divers kinds of Censures, rather than not to obtain what I demand: Nor shall I do you the wrong, as in this to doubt the obtaining of my wish, it being totally grounded upon Reason. For, desiring you to consider (not thinking it needful to mention) the divers Reasons which no Christian can be ignorant of, for point of Conscience, I must assure you, that I cannot, as I ought; take in consideration those alterations in Religion which have and will be offer'd unto me, without such help as I desire; because I can never judge rightly of, or be alter'd in any thing of my Opinion, so long as any ordinary way of finding out the Truth is denied me. But when this is granted me, I promise you faithfully not to strive for victory in Argument, but to seek and submit to Truth according to that Judgment which GOD hath given me; always holding it my best and greatest Conquest to give Contentment to my Two Houses of Parliament in all things, which I conceive not to be against my Conscience or Honour; not doubting likewise, but that you will be ready to satisfy me in reasonable things, as I hope to find in this particular, concerning the attendance of my Chaplains upon me.

Holdenby, 6. March,  
1646.

CHARLES R.

The

*The Army's Impeachment of Eleven Members.*

Page 58. **J**une 16. 1547, This Day came to the Houses of Parliament, from His Excellency, and the Officers and Soldiers of the Army, a Charge against Eleven Members of the Commons House, viz. *Denzil Hollis, Esq;* Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Lewis*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *John Maynard*, Major-General *Massy*, Mr. *Glynn*, Recorder of *London*, Colonel *Walter Long*, Colonel *Edward Harley*, and *Antony Nichols, Esq;* who were charged as follows.

I. That, contrary to the Trust reposed in them, they have jointly or severally invaded, infringed, or endeavoured to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the Subject of this Nation, in arbitrary, violent, or oppressive ways, and have likewise endeavour'd, by indirect and corrupt Practices, to delay and obstruct Justice, to the great damage and prejudice of divers of the poor Commons of *England* Petitioning for the same.

II. That this Army being, until the middle of *March* last, in a quiet and orderly Condition and Posture, free from any colour or appearance of Distemper or Disorder, or from Offence to any, and ready (upon reasonable Satisfaction in their necessary Dues for Service past) either quietly to have disbanded, or else to have engaged in the Service of *Ireland*, the Persons abovenamed have, jointly or severally, endeavour'd, by false Informations, Misrepresentations, or Scandalous Suggestions against the Army, to beget Misunderstandings, Prejudices, or Jealousies in the Parliament, against the Army; and, by deluding, surprising, or otherwise abusing the Parliament, to engage the Authority of Parliament to such Proceedings, as to put insufferable Injuries, Abuses, and Provocations upon the Army, whereby to provoke and put the Army into a Distemper, and to disoblige and discourage the same from any further engagement in the Parliament's Service. By all which, and other the like particulars and proceedings of theirs, the Peace of the Kingdom hath been imminently endangered, and the relief of *Ireland* retarded.

III. That whereas the Parliament might otherwise have had, out of this Army, an entire Force, and, answerable to  
their



their Proportion designed, to have engaged for *Ireland*, as aforesaid, under their old Officers and Conduct; the Persons above-named, for advancement of their own Ends, Faction, and Design, to the prejudice of the Publick, have jointly or severally, under pretence of the Service of *Ireland*, endeavour'd by such evil Practices as before, to break and pull this Army in pieces, to the weakening of the Power, and endangering the safety of Parliament and Kingdom; and have likewise endeavour'd to put the Parliament and Kingdom, to the trouble, hazard, delay, and vast expence of raising a new Force as for that Service.

IV. That with the breaking of this Army as aforesaid, they have, in the like manner, endeavour'd, under the pretence of the Service of *Ireland*, to raise a new Force as before, to advance and carry on desperate Designs of their own in *England*, to the prejudice of the Parliament and Publick; and, in pursuance of the same, have endeavour'd to divert the Forces engaged as for *Ireland*, and unto such their purpose, as aforesaid, here in *England*; and have, in like manner, endeavour'd to have gained a Power from the Parliament, for themselves or some of them, of diverting and misemploying those Forces aforesaid, and to raise new Forces under pretence to guard the Parliament; and (not having obtained that) have, in like manner, endeavour'd privately to list and engage Officers and Soldiers, or procure them to be listed and engaged, without the Authority of Parliament, for the raising of, and embroiling the Kingdom in a new and Bloody War, and to interrupt and hinder the settling and securing the Rights Liberties, and Peace of the Kingdom; and for the settling, upholding, and protecting of themselves and their Accomplices, in their unjust, oppressive, and factious Designs and Proceedings.

V. That they have jointly or severally, invited, encouraged, abetted, or countenanced divers Reformadoes, and other Officers and Soldiers, tumultuously and violently to gather together at *Westminster*, to affright and assault the Members of Parliament in passage to and fro from the House, to offer violence to the House itself, and, by such Violences Outrages and Threats, to awe and inforce the Parliament.

AN which Heads of Charge the Army promise to make good in particulars, every Head against some of the Persons, and some one Head or more against each of the Persons.

*Votes of no more Addresses.*

*Monday, January 3. 1647.*

THE House of Commons sat very close this Day, from Morning until late at Night, upon Debate of *the King's last Message*, and the Report from the Commissioners, that presented the Four Bills to His Majesty; and upon the result of all (there being no Satisfaction given by His Majesty's last Message, as to the Desires of the Parliament, for passing the Bills, or any Inclination in His Majesty appearing for a Composition in that way, but the offer barely of a *Personal Treaty*, as also hath been much pressed for by the *Scottish Commissioners* in their Papers; and who also dissented to the Four Bills) after much Debate it was put to the Question, *Whether any Addresses should be made hereafter to His Majesty?* And this, with other Votes, was then resolved upon, as followeth:

*First*, That no more Addresses be made from the Parliament to the King; nor any Letters or Messages received from him.

*Secondly*, That it shall be Treason for any Persons whatsoever to deliver any Message to the King, or receive any Letter or Message from him, without leave from Both Houses of Parliament.

*Thirdly*, That the Members of Both Houses of the Committees of Both Kingdoms, have Power to Sit and Act alone (as formerly the Committees of Both Kingdoms had) for the safety of the Kingdom.

*Fourthly*, That the Earl of *Kent* be added to this Committee, in the place of the Earl of *Essex* deceased; and Sir *John Evelyn* and Mr. *Fiennes*, in the place of Sir *Philip Stapleton* deceased, and Mr. *Glynn*, Recorder, (now in the Tower.)

*Fifthly*, That a Committee be nominated to draw up a Declaration to be published, to satisfy the Kingdom of the Reason of passing these Votes.

*Lastly*, That the Concurrence of the Lords be desired to these Votes.

*Votes for a Treaty with the King.**Aug. 24. 1648.*

**R**ESolved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, *Pag. 182.*

That for opening a Way towards a Treaty with His Majesty, the Votes of Non-Addressees be revoked.

That His Majesty be desired to send to the Houses, the Names of such Persons as he shall conceive to be of necessary use to be about him during this Treaty, they not being Persons excepted by the Houses from Pardon, or under Restraint, or in actual War against the Parliament by Sea or Land, or in such Numbers as may draw any just Cause of Suspicion: And that His Majesty shall be in the Isle of *Wight*, in the same State and Freedom as he was in when he was last at *Hampton-Court*.

That such Domestick Servants (not being in the former Limitations) as His Majesty shall appoint to come and attend upon His Majesty's Person, shall be sent unto him.

That the Town of *Newport*, in the Isle of *Wight*, shall be the place of Treaty.

That any of the *Scottish* Nation, whom the King pleases, (not being in the Limitations aforesaid) shall have the Parliaments safe Conduct to come to him.

That Five Lords and Ten Members of the Commons be Commissioners to Treat with the King.



*The chief Heads of the Army's Remonstrance, presented to the House of Commons, Nov. 20. 1648. by Colonel Ewers, Lieutenant-Colonel Kelsey, Lieutenant-Colonel Axtel, Lieutenant-Colonel Cook, Captain Pritty, Captain Canon, Captain Morris, with a Letter from General Fairfax, pressing that it may have a present reading.*

I. **T**hey conceive the Parliament hath abundant Cause to lay aside any further Proceeding in this Treaty, and to return to their Votes of *Non-Addresses*, and settle with or against the King, that he may come no more to Government; and this, first by rejecting those Demands of the King for Himself and Party, especially concerning his Restitution and coming to *London* with freedom; and that they proceed against the King in way of Justice, as the Capital and Grand Author of all our Troubles, by whose Procurement, and for whose Interest only of Will and Power, all our Wars have been.

II. That a Day may be set for the Prince of *Wales* and the Duke of *York* to come in; by which time, if they do not, that then they may be immediately declared incapable of any Government or Trust in this Kingdom or its Dominions, and thence to stand exiled for ever, as Enemies and Traytors, to die without Mercy, if ever after found and taken therein. Or if by the time limited they do render themselves, that then the Prince be proceeded with, as on his appeareance he shall give satisfaction or not; and the Duke, as he shall give satisfaction, may be consider'd as to future Trust or not. But, however, that the Revenue of the Crown, (saving necessary Allowances for the Children, and for Servants and Creditors to the Crown) be sequester'd, and the costly Pomp suspended for a good number of Years; and that this Revenue be for that time disposed toward publick Charges, Debts, and Damages, for the easing of the People; so as the Estates neither of Friends to publick Interest, nor alone of inferior Enemies thereto, may bear wholly the burden of that Loss and Charge which by and for that Family the Kingdom hath been put to.

III. That Capital Punishment be speedily executed upon a competent number of his chief Instruments also, both in former and later Wars; and that some of both sorts be pitcht upon as are really in your Hands or Reach.

IV. That the rest of the Delinquents, *English*, may, upon rendering themselves to Justice, have Mercy for their Lives; and that only Fines be set upon them, and their Persons declared incapable of any publick Trust, or having any Voice in Elections thereto, at least for a good number of Years: And that a short Day may be set, by which all such Delinquents may come in; and for those who come not in by that Day, that their Estates be absolutely confiscate and sold to the publick Use, and their Persons stand exiled as Traytors, and to Die without Mercy if ever found after in the Kingdom or its Dominions.

V. That the satisfaction of Arrears to the Soldiery, with other publick Debts, and competent Reparations of publick Damages, may be put into some orderly way: And therefore that the Fines and Compositions of Delinquents be disposed to those Uses only; as also the Confiscations of such who shall be excluded from Pardon, or not come in by the Day assigned.

*Now after Publick Justice thus far provided for, we proceed in order to the general satisfaction and settling of the Kingdom.*

I. That you would set some reasonable and certain Period to your own Power.

II. That with a Period to this Parliament, there may be a Settlement of the Peace and future Government of the Kingdom.

*First*, That there may be a certain Succession of future Parliaments, Annual or Biennial, with secure Provision,  
 1. For the certainty of their Sitting, Meeting, and Ending.  
 2. For equal Elections. 3. For the Peoples meeting to elect; provided that none engaged in War against the Kingdom may elect or be elected, nor any other who oppose this Settlement. 4. For clearing the future Power of Parliaments as Supreme; only they may not give away any foundation of common Right. 5. For liberty of entring Dissents in the said Representatives; that the People may know who are not fit for future Trusts, but without any further Penalty for their free Judgments.

*Secondly,*

*Secondly*, That no King be hereafter admitted, but upon Election of, and as upon Trust from the People, by such their Representatives, not without first disclaiming all pretence to a negative Voice against the Determinations of the Commons in Parliament; and this to be done in some Form more clear than heretofore in the Coronation-Oath.

These Matters of General Settlement we propound to be provided by the Authority of the Commons in this Parliament, and to be further established by a general Contract or Agreement of the People, with their Subscriptions thereunto. And that no King be admitted to the Crown, nor other Person to any Office of Publick Trust, without express accord and subscription to the same.

*Members seized on by the Army, as they were entering into the House.*

Sir Robert Harley.  
Col. Harley.  
Sir William Waller.  
Sir Walter Earl.  
Sir Sam. Luke.  
Sir Richard Onslow.  
Sir John Merreck.  
Sir Martin Lyster.  
Lord Wenman.  
Mr. Knightly.  
Sir Gilbert Gerrard.  
Sir Benjamin Rudyard.  
Mr. Francis Gerrard.  
Mr. Swinsyn.  
Mr. Crew.  
Mr. Edward Stephens.  
Mr. Buller.  
Sir Harbottle Grimston.  
Mr. Bunkley.  
Major General Massey.  
Mr. Walker.

Sir Robert Pye.  
Mr. Henry Pelham.  
Colonel Leigh.  
Sir Antony Irbys.  
Sir Thomas Soam.  
Colonel Birch.  
Mr. Lane.  
Mr. Wheeler.  
Mr. Drake.  
Mr. Greene.  
Mr. Bowton.  
Mr. Prynne.  
Mr. Priestly.  
Sir Simon Dews.  
Sir William Lewis.  
Sir John Clotworthy.  
Col. William Strode.  
Commissary Copley.  
Mr. Vaughan.  
Col. Nathaniel Fiennes.



*An Act of the Commons of England assembled in  
Parliament, for erecting of a High Court of  
Justice, for the Trying and Judging of  
CHARLES STUART, King of England.*

**W**Hereas it is notorious, that *CHARLES STUART*, the now King of *England*, not content with those many Encroachments which his Predecessors had made upon the People in their Rights and Freedoms, hath had a wicked Design totally to subvert the ancient and fundamental Laws and Liberties of this Nation, and in their place to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, and that, besides all other Evil Ways and Means to bring this Design to pass; He hath prosecuted it with Fire and Sword, levied and maintain'd a cruel War in the Land against the Parliament and Kingdom, whereby the Country hath been miserably wasted, the Publick Treasure exhausted, Trade decayed, Thousands of People murder'd, and infinite other Mischiefs committed: For all which High and Treasonable Offences, the said *CHARLES STUART* might long since justly have been brought to exemplary and condign Punishment: Whereas also the Parliament well hoping that the Restraint and Imprisonment of his Person, after it had pleased GOD to deliver him into their Hands, would have quieted the Distempers of the Kingdom, did forbear to proceed Judicially against him; but found by sad experience, that such their Remissness served only to encourage him and his Complices in the continuance of their Evil Practices, and in raising of new Commotions, Rebellions, and Invasions; for prevention therefore of the like or greater Inconveniencies, and to the end no Chief Officer or Magistrate whatsoever may hereafter presume, traiterously or maliciously, to imagine or contrive the enslaving or destroying of the *English* Nation, and to expect Impunity for so doing; Be it Ordained and Enacted by the Commons in Parliament, and it is hereby Ordained and Enacted by Authority thereof, That *Thomas Lord Fairfax*, *Oliver Cromwel*, *Henry Ireton*, Esquires; *Sir Hardress Waller*, Knight; *Philip Skippon*, *Valentine Wauton*, *Thomas Harrison*, *Edward Whalley*, *Thomas Pride*, *Isaac Ever*, *Richard Ingoldsbey*, *Henry Mildmay*, Esquires; *Sir Thomas Honeywood*,

Honywood, Thomas Lord Grey of Groby, Philip Lord Lisle, William Lord Mounson, Sir John Danvers, Sir Thomas Maleverer, Baronet; Sir John Bouchier, Sir James Harrington, Sir William Allanson, Sir Henry Mildmay, Sir Thomas Wroth, Knights; Sir William Masham, Sir John Barrington, Sir William Brereton, Baronets; Robert Wallop, William Heveningham, Esquires; Isaac Pennington, Thomas Atkins, Rowland Wilson, Aldermen of the City of London; Sir Peter Wentworth, Knight of the Bath; Henry Martin, William Purefoy, Godfrey Bosuile, John Trenchard, Herbert Morley, John Berkstead, Matthew Tomlinson, John Blackiston, Gilbert Millington, Esquires; Sir William Constable, Baronet; Edmond Ludlow, John Lambert, John Hutchinson, Esquires; Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir Michael Livesey, Baronets; Richard Salwey, Humphry Salwey, Robert Tichbourne, Owen Roe, Robert Manwaring, Robert Lilbourne, Adrian Scroop, Richard Deare, John Okey, Robert Overton, John Huson, John Desborough, William Goff, Robert Duckensfield, Cornelius Holland, John Carew, Esquires; Sir William Armyn, Baronet; John Jones, Miles Corbet, Francis Allen, Thomas Lister, Benjamin Weston, Peregrine Pelham, John Gourdon, Esquires; Francis Thorp, Serjeant at Law; John Nutt, Thomas Challoner, Algernon Sydney, John Anlaby, John Moore, Richard Darley, William Say, John Alured, John Fagg, James Nelthorpe, Esquires; Sir William Roberts, Knight; Francis Lasfels, Alexander Rigby, Henry Smith, Edmond Wild, James Challoner, Josias Berners, Dennis Bond, Humphrey Edwards, Gregory Clement, John Fry, Thomas Wogan, Esquires; Sir Gregory Norton, Baronet; John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law; Edmond Harvey, John Dove, John Ven, Esquires; John Fowkes, Alderman of the City of London; Thomas Scot, Esq; Thomas Andrews, Alderman of the City of London; William Cawley, Abraham Burrell, Antony Stapeley, Roger Gratwick, John Downs, Thomas Horton, Thomas Hammond, George Fenwick, Esquires; Robert Nicholas, Serjeant at Law; Robert Reynolds, John Lisle, Nicholas Love, Vincent Potter, Esquires; Sir Gilbert Pickering, Baronet; John Weaver, Roger Hill, John Lenthall, Esquires; Sir Edward Banton, John Corbet, Thomas Blunt, Thomas Boon, Augustine Garland, Augustine Skinner, John Dixwel, George Fleetwood, Simon Meyne, James Temple, Peter Temple, Daniel Blaggrave, Esquires; Sir Peter

*Temple*, Knight and Baronet; *Thomas Wayte*, *John Brown*, *John Lowry*, Esquires; shall be, and are hereby appointed and required to be Commissioners and Judges for the Hearing, Trying, and Adjudging of the said *CHARLES STUART*. And the said Commissioners, or any Twenty or more of them, shall be, and are hereby authorized and constituted an High Court of Justice, to meet and sit at such convenient Time and Place, as by the said Commissioners, or the major part of Twenty or more of them, under their Hands and Seals, shall be appointed and notified by publick Proclamation in the Great Hall or Palace-Yard at *Westminster*, and to adjourn from Time to Time, and from Place to Place, as the said High-Court, or major part thereof meeting, shall hold fit: And to take order for the charging of him the said *CHARLES STUART*, with the Crimes and Treasons abovementioned; and for the receiving of his Personal Answer thereunto, and for the Examination of Witnesses upon Oath, which the Court hath hereby Authority to administer; or otherwise, and taking any other Evidence concerning the same; and thereupon, or in default of such Answer, to proceed to final Sentence, according to Justice and the Merit of the Cause, and such final Sentence to execute, or cause to be executed speedily and impartially. And the said Court is hereby authorized and required to appoint and direct all such Officers, Attendants, and other Circumstances, as they, or the major part of them, shall in any sort judge necessary or useful for the orderly and good managing of the Premises. And *Thomas Lord Fairfax* the General, and all Officers and Soldiers under his Command, and all Officers of Justice, and other well-affected Persons, are hereby authorized and required to be aiding and assisting unto the said Court in the due execution of the Trust hereby committed. Provided that this Act, and the Authority hereby granted, do continue in force for the space of one Month, from the making hereof, and no longer.

*Hen. Scobell*, Cler. Par. Dom. Com,

The Commissioners appointed *Edward Dendy*, Serjeant at Arms, *Mr. Aske*, *Dr. Dorislaus*, *Mr. Steel*, and *Mr. Cooke*, Council to attend the Court; *Mr. Greaves* and *Mr. John Phelpes*, Clerks, but *Andrew Broughton* was afterwards named



named in *Greaves's* room. Mr. *Edward Walford*, Mr. *John Powel*, Mr. *John King*, Mr. *Phineas Payne*, and Mr. *Hull*, Mr. *Litchman*, Messengers.

*John Bradshaw*, Serjeant at Law, was made President of the Court, and Mr. *Say* President in his absence.

During the Trial the King was lodged at Sir *Robert Cotton's* House.

A Charge of High Treason, and other High Crimes, Exhibited to the *High Court of Justice* by *John Cooke*, Esq; Solicitor General, appointed by the said Court, for, and on the behalf of the People of *England*, against CHARLES STUART King of *England*.

THAT He the said CHARLES STUART, being admitted King of *England*, and therein trusted with a limited Power to govern by, and according to the Laws of the Land, and not otherwise; and by his Trust, Oath and Office, being obliged to use the Power committed to him, for the Good and Benefit of the People, and for the Preservation of their Rights and Liberties; Yet nevertheless, out of a wicked Design to erect and uphold in himself an unlimited and tyrannical Power to rule according to his Will, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People, yea, to take away and make void the Foundations thereof, and of all redress and remedy of misgovernment, which by the Fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdom, were reserved on the Peoples behalf, in the Right and Power of frequent and successive Parliaments or National Meetings in Council, He the said CHARLES STUART, for accomplishment of such his Designs, and for the Protecting of himself and his Adherents, in his and their wicked Practices, to the same Ends, hath Traiterously and Maliciously levied War against the present Parliament, and the People therein represented; particularly, upon or about the Thirtieth Day of June, in the Year of our Lord 1642. at *Beverley*, in the County of *York*; and upon or about the Thirtieth Day of July in the Year aforesaid, in the County of the City of *York*; and up-

on or about the Four and twentieth Day of August in the same Year, at the County of the Town of Nottingham, where, and when he set up his Standard of War; and also on or about the Twenty-third Day of October in the same Year, at Edge-Hill and Keynton Field, in the County of Warwick; and upon or about the Thirtieth Day of November in the same Year, at Brainford, in the County of Middlesex; and upon or about the Thirtieth of August, in the Year of our Lord, 1643, at Caversham-Bridge near Reading, in the County of Berks; and upon or about the Thirtieth Day of October, in the Year last mentioned, at or near the City of Gloucester; and upon or about the Thirtieth Day of November in the Year last mentioned, at Newbury, in the County of Berks; and upon or about the Thirty-first Day of July in the Year of our Lord 1644, at Cropredy-Bridge, in the County of Oxon; and upon or about the Thirtieth Day of September, in the last Year mentioned, at Bodwyn, and other Places near adjacent, in the County of Cornwall; and upon or about the Thirtieth Day of November, in the Year last mentioned, at Newbury aforesaid; and upon or about the Eighth Day of June, in the Year of our Lord 1645, at the Town of Leicester, and also upon the Fourteenth Day of the same Month in the same Year, at Nazeby-Field in the County of Northampton. At which several Times and Places, or most of them, and at many other Places in this Land, at several other times within the Years aforementioned; and in the Year of our Lord 1646, He the said CHARLES STUART hath caused and procured many Thousands of the free People of this Nation to be slain, and by Divisions, Parties, and Insurrections within this Land, by Invasions from Foreign Parts, endeavoured and procured by him, and by many other evil ways and means, He the said CHARLES STUART hath not on'y maintained and carried on the said War, both by Land and Sea, during the Year before mentioned, but also hath renewed or caused to be renewed the said War against the Parliament and good People of this Nation, in this present Year 1648. in the Counties of Kent, Essex, Surrey, Suffex, Middlesex, and many other Counties and Places in England and Wales; and also by Sea. And particularly He the said CHARLES STUART, hath, for that purpose, given Commission to his Son the Prince, and others, whereby, besides multitudes of other Persons, many such as were by the Parliament intru-  
sted

sted and employed for the safety of the Nation ( being by him or his Angels corrupted to the betraying of their Trust, and revolting from the Parliament ) have had Entertainment and Commission for the continuing and renewing of War and Hostility against the said Parliament and People, as aforesaid ; by which cruel and unnatural Wars, by him the said CHARLES STUART Levied, Continued and Renewed as aforesaid, much innocent Blood of the free People of this Nation hath been spilt, many Families have been undone, the Publick Treasury wasted and exhausted, Trade obstructed and miserably decayed, vast Expence and Damage to the Nation incurred, and many parts of this Land spoiled, some of them even to desolation. And for further Prosecution of his said evil Designs; He the said CHARLES STUART, doth still continue his Commissions to the said Prince, and other Rebels and Revolters both English and Foreigners, and to the E. of Ormond, and to the Irish Rebels and Revolters associated with him ; from whom further Invasions upon this Land are threatned, upon the procurement and on the behalf of the said CHARLES STUART.

All which wicked Designs, Wars and evil Practices, of him the said CHARLES STUART, have been, and are, carried on for the advancement and upholding of a Personal Interest of Will and Power, and pretended Prerogative to himself and his Family, against the Publick Interest, Common Right, Liberty, Justice and Peace of the People of this Nation, by and for whom he was intrusted as aforesaid.

By all which it appeareth, that He the said CHARLES STUART hath been, and is the Occasioner, Author, and Continuer of the said unnatural, cruel, and bloody Wars, and therein guilty of all the Treasons, Murders, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Desolations, Damages and Mischiefs to this Nation, acted and committed in the said Wars, or occasioned thereby.

And the said John Cooke by Protestation saving on the behalf of the said People of England, the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter any other Charge against the said CHARLES STUART, and also of replying to the Answers which the said CHARLES STUART shall make to the Premises, or any of them, or any other Charge that



that shall be so exhibited, doth, for the said Treasons and Crimes, on the behalf of the said People of *England*, impeach the said *CHARLES STUART*, as a Tyrant, Traitor, Murderer, and a publick and implacable Enemy to the Commonwealth of *England*, and pray that the said *CHARLES STUART* King of *England*, may be put to answer all and every the Premises, and that such Proceedings, Examinations, Trials, Sentences and Judgments may be thereupon had, as shall be agreeable to Justice.

Subscribed, . *John Cooke.*

The Prisoner, while the Charge was reading, sat down in his Chair, looking sometimes on the High Court, and sometimes on the Galleries, and rose again, and turned about to behold the Guards and Spectators, and after sat down, looking very sternly; and with a Countenance not at all moved, till these Words, *viz. CHARLES STUART to be a Tyrant, Traytor, &c.* were read; at which he laughed as he sat in the face of the Court.

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### Court called *January 22. 1648.*

The King is again brought Prisoner to the Bar, as on *Saturday* last; Proclamation is made for Silence.

Cooke. *MAY* it please your Lordship, my Lord President, I did at the last Court, in the Behalf of the Commons of England, exhibit and give in, to this Court, a Charge of High Treason, and other High Crimes against the Prisoner at the Bar; whereof I do accuse him in the Name of the People of England; and the Charge was read unto him, and his Answer required. My Lord, He was not pleased to give an Answer; but, instead of answering, did there dispute the Authority of this High Court. My Humble Motion to this High Court, in the behalf of the Kingdom of England, is, That the Prisoner may be directed to make a Positive Answer, either by way of Confession or Negation; which, if he shall refuse to do, that then the Matter of Charge may be taken, pro confesso, and the Court may proceed, according to Justice.

*Brad-*

*Bradshaw.* Sir, You may remember, at the last Court you were told the occasion of your being brought hither, and you heard a Charge read against you, containing a Charge of *High Treason*, and other High Crimes, against this Realm of *England*; you have heard likewise that it was prayed in the behalf of the People, that you should give an Answer to that Charge, that thereupon such Proceedings might be had, as should be agreeable to Justice: You were then pleased to make some Scruples concerning the Authority of this Court, and knew not by what Authority you were brought hither: You did divers times propound your Questions, and were as often answered, That it was by Authority of the *Commons of England* Assembled in Parliament, that did think fit to call you to account for those High and Capital Misdemeanors wherewith you were then charged.

Since that, the Court hath taken into consideration what you then said: They are fully satisfied with their own Authority, and they hold it fit you should stand satisfied with it too; and they do require it, that you do give a positive and particular Answer to this Charge that is exhibited against you. They do expect you should either confess or deny it: If you deny, it is offered, in the behalf of the Kingdom, to be made good against you. Their Authority they do avow to the whole World, that the whole Kingdom are to rest satisfied in, and you are to rest satisfied with it; and therefore you are to lose no more time, but to give a positive Answer thereunto.

King. *When I was here last, 'tis very true, I made that Question; and if it were only my own particular Case, I would have satisfied my self with the Protestation I made the last time I was here, against the Legality of this Court, and that a King cannot be Tried by any superior Jurisdiction on Earth: But it is not my Case alone, it is the Freedom and the Liberty of the People of England; and, do you pretend what you will, I stand more for their Liberties. For if Power without Law, may make Laws, may alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, I do not know what Subject he is in England that can be sure of his Life, or any thing that he calls his own: Therefore, when that I came here, I did expect particular Reasons, to know by what Law, what Authority you did proceed against Me here; and therefore I am a little to seek what to say to you in this Particular, because the Affirmative is to be proved, the*  
*Nega-*

tive often is very hard to do : But since I cannot persuade you to do it, I shall tell you my Reasons as short as I can.

My Reasons why in Conscience, and the Duty I owe to GOD first, and my People next, for the Preservation of their Lives, Liberties, and Estates, I conceive I cannot answer this, till I be satisfied of the legality of it.

*All Proceedings against any Man whatsoever. -----*

Bradshaw. Sir, I must interrupt you ; which I would not do, but that what you do, is not agreeable to the Proceedings of any Court of Justice. You are about to enter into Argument and Dispute concerning the Authority of this Court, before whom you appear as a Prisoner, and are charged as an high Delinquent : If you take upon you to dispute the Authority of the Court, we may not do it, nor will any Court give way unto it ; you are to submit unto it, you are to give a punctual and direct Answer, whether you will answer your Charge or no, and what your Answer is.

King. Sir, By your Favour, I do not know the Forms of Law : I do know Law and Reason, tho' I am no Lawyer professed : But I know as much Law as any Gentleman in England, and therefore, under Favour, I do plead for the Liberties of the People of England more than you do ; and therefore if I should impose a Belief upon any Man without Reasons given for it, it were unreasonable : But I must tell you, that, by that Reason that I have, as thus informed, I cannot yield unto it.

Bradshaw. Sir, I must interrupt you ; you may not be permitted : You speak of Law and Reason ; it is fit there should be Law and Reason ; and there is both against you.

Sir, The Vote of the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, it is the Reason of the Kingdom ; and they are these too that have given that Law according to which you should have Ruled and Reigned, Sir, You are not to dispute our Authority, you are told it again by the Court ; Sir, it will be taken notice of, that you stand in contempt of the Court, and your Contempt will be recorded accordingly.

King. I do not know how a King can be a Delinquent ; but by any Law that ever I heard of, all Men (Delinquents or what you will) let me tell you, they may put in Demurrers against any Proceeding as Legal ; and I do demand that, and demand to be heard with my Reasons ; if you deny that you deny Reason.

Brad-



*Bradshaw.* Sir, You have offer'd something to the Court ; I shall speak something unto you, the sense of the Court. Sir, neither you nor any Man are permitted to dispute that Point ; you are concluded, you may not demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court ; if you do, I must let you know that they over-rule your Demurrer : They sit here by the Authority of the *Commons of England*, and all your Predecessors and you are responsible to them.

*King.* *I deny that ; shew me one Precedent.*

*Bradshaw.* Sir, You ought not to interrupt while the Court is speaking to you. This Point is not to be debated by you, neither will the Court permit you to do it : If you offer it by way of Demurrer to the Jurisdiction of the Court, they have consider'd of their Jurisdiction, they do affirm their own Jurisdiction.

*King.* *I say, Sir, By your Favour, that the Commons of England was never a Court of Judicature ; I would know how they came to be so.*

*Bradshaw.* Sir, You are not to be permitted to go on in that Speech, and these Discourses.

*Then the Clerk of the Court read,*

*CHARLES STUART*, King of *England*, You have been accused, on the behalf of the People of *England*, of High Treason, and other High Crimes ; the Court have determin'd that you ought to answer the same.

*King.* *I will Answer the same so soon as I know by what Authority you do this.*

*Bradshaw.* If this be all that you will say, then, *Gentlemen*, you that brought the Prisoner hither, take charge of him back again.

*King.* *I do require that I may give in my Reasons why I do not Answer ; and give Me time for that.*

*Bradshaw.* Sir, 'Tis not for Prisoners to require.

*King.* *Prisoners, Sir ! I am not an ordinary Prisoner.*

*Bradshaw.* The Court hath consider'd of their Jurisdiction, and they have already affirmed their Jurisdiction : If you will not answer, we will give Order to Record your Default.

*King.* *You never heard my Reasons yet.*

*Bradshaw.* Sir, Your Reasons are not to be heard against the highest Jurisdiction.

*King.* *Shew Me that Jurisdiction where Reason is not to be heard.*

*Brad-*

*Bradshaw.* Sir, We shew it you here, *The Commons of England* : and the next time you are brought you will know more of the Pleasure of the Court ; and it may be, their final Determination.

*King.* *Shew Me where ever the House of Commons was a Court of Judicature of that kind.*

*Bradshaw.* Serjeant, Take away the Prisoner.

*King.* *Well, Sir, Remember that the King is not suffered to give in his Reasons for the Liberty and Freedom of all his Subjects.*

*Bradshaw.* Sir, You are not to have Liberty to use this Language. How great a Friend you have been to the Laws and Liberties of the People, let all *England* and the World judge.

*King.* *Sir, Under favour, it was the Liberty, Freedom, and Laws of the Subject that ever I took --- defended My self with Arms : I never took up Arms against the People, but for the Laws.*

*Bradshaw.* The Command of the Court must be obeyed : No Answer will be given to the Charge.

*King.* *Well, Sir.*

Then *Bradshaw* ordered the Default to be Recorded, and the Contempt of the Court, and that no Answer would be given to the Charge.

*The King was guarded forth to Sir Robert Cotton's House.*

The Court Adjourned to the *Painted Chamber* on *Tuesday* at Twelve of the Clock, and from thence they intend to Adjourn to *Westminster-Hall*, at which time all Persons concerned are to give their Attendance.

His Majesty not being suffered to deliver His Reasons against the Jurisdiction of their Pretended Court, by word of Mouth, thought fit to leave them in Writing to the more impartial Judgment of Posterity, as followeth ;

**H**AVING already made my Proteſtations, not only against the Illegality of this Pretended Court, but also, That no Earthly Power can justly call Me (who am your King) in question, as a Delinquent ; I would not any more open My Mouth upon this Occasion, more than to refer myself to what I have spoken, were I in this Case alone concerned : But the Duty I owe to GOD in the Preservation of the True Liberty of My People, will not suffer Me at this time to  
be

be silent: For, how can any Free-born Subject of England call Life, or any thing he possesseth, his own, if Power without Right, daily make New, and abrogate the Old Fundamental Law of the Land? Which I now take to be the present Case. Wherefore, when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied Me concerning these grounds which hinder me to answer to your Pretended Impeachment: But since I see that nothing I can say, will move you to it (tho' Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot Judge Me, nor indeed the meanest Man in England: For I will not (like you) without shewing a Reason, seek to impose a Belief upon my Subjects.

There is no Proceeding Just against any Man, but what is warranted either by GOD's Laws, or the Municipal Laws of the Countrey where he lives. Now I am most confident, This Day's Proceeding cannot be warranted by GOD's Law; for, on the contrary, The Authority of Obedience unto Kings, is clearly warranted, and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament; which, if denied, I am ready instantly to prove.

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Reasons.

And for the Question now in hand, there it is said, That, Where the Word of a King is, There is Power; and whomay say unto Him, What doest Thou? Eccl. 8. 4. Then for the Law of this Land, I am no less confident, That no Learned Lawyer will affirm, That, An Impeachment can lie against the King; they all going in His Name: And one of their Maxims is, That The King can do no Wrong. Besides, The Law upon which you ground your Proceedings, must either be Old or New; if Old, shew it; if New, tell what Authority, warranted by the Fundamental Laws of the Land, hath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one itself, (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to GOD and the World to judge: And it were full as strange that they should pretend to make Laws without King or Lords House, to any that have heard speak of the Laws of England.

And admitting, but not granting, That the People of England's Commission could grant your Pretended Power, I see nothing you can shew for that; for certainly you de-



ver asked the Question of the Tenth Man in the Kingdom; and in this Way you manifestly wrong even the Poorest Ploughman, if you demand not his free Consent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your Pretended Commission, without the Consent, at least, of the Major Part of every Man in England, of whatsoever Quality or Condition, which I am sure you never went about to seek; so far are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for My own Right alone, as I am your King, but also for the true Liberty of all My Subjects; which consists not in the Power of Government, but in Living under such Laws, such a Government, as may give themselves the best Assurance of their Lives, and Property of their Goods. Nor in this, must, or do I forget the Privileges of Both Houses of Parliament; which this Day's Proceedings do not only Violate, but likewise Occasion the greatest Breach of their Publick Faith, that (I believe) ever was heard of; with which I am far from charging the Two Houses; for all Pretended Crimes laid against Me, bear Date long before this Treaty at Newport; in which, I having concluded, as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the Houses Agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surprized, and hurried from thence as a Prisoner; upon which account I am, against My Will, brought hither; where, since I am come, I cannot but, to My Power, defend the ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with My own just Right. Then, for any thing I can see, the Higher House is totally excluded. And for the House of Commons, it is too well known that the Major part of them are detained or deterred from Sitting; so as, if I had no other, this were sufficient for Me to protest against the Lawfulness of your Pretended Court. Besides all this, the Peace of the Kingdom is not the least in My Thoughts; and what hopes of settlement is there so long as Power Reigns without Rule or Law, changing the whole Frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath flourished for many Hundred Years? (nor will I say what will fall out, in case this lawless, unjust Proceeding against Me do go on.) And, believe it, the Commons of England will not thank you for this Change; for they will remember how Happy they have been of late Years under the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, the King My Father, and My Self, until the beginning of these unhappy Troubles, and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be

so

so happy under any New. And, by this time, it will be too sensibly evident, that the Arms I took up, were only to defend the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, against those who have supposed My Power hath totally changed the Ancient Government.

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reasons why I cannot submit to your Pretended Authority, without violating the Trust which I have from GOD for the Welfare and Liberty of my People, I expect from you either clear Reasons to convince My Judgment, shewing Me that I am in an Error, (and then truly I will answer) or that you will withdraw your Proceedings.

This I intended to speak in Westminster-Hall, on Monday, Jan. 22. but against Reason was hindred to shew my Reasons.

*The Names of the Witnesses examined against  
the King, January 25. 1648.*

**W**illiam Cuthbert of Patrington in Holdernefs, Yorkshires, Gent. Aged 42 Years, or thereabouts.

John Bennet of Harwood, in the County of York, Glover.

William Brayne of Wixhall, in the County of Salop, Gent.

Henry Hartford of Stratford upon Avon, in Warwicksh.

Robert Lacy of the Town and County of Nottingham, Painter.

Edward Roberts of Bishop-Casile in the County of Salop, Ironmonger.

Robert Loads of Cottam in Nottinghamshire, Tyler.

Samuel Morgan of Wellington in Com. Salop, Feltmaker.

James Williams of Ross in Herefordshire, Shoemaker.

John Pyneger of the Parish of Hainer in the County of Derby, Yeoman, Aged 37 Years or thereabout.

Samuel Lawson of Nottingham, Malster, Aged 30 Years.

Arthur Young, Citizen and Barber-Chirurgion of London.

Thomas Whittington of the Town and County of Nottingham, Shoemaker, Aged 22 Years.

John Thomas of Llangollen in the County of Denbigh, Husbandman, Aged 25 Years.

Richard Blomfield, Citizen and Weaver of London, Aged 35 Years.

*William Jones* of *Uske* in the County of *Monmouth*, Husbandman, Aged 22 Years, or thereabouts.

*Humphrey Browne* of *Whitfondine* in the County of *Rutland*, Husbandman, Aged 22 Years, or thereabouts.

*David Evans* of *Abergenny*, in the County of *Monmouth*, Smith, Aged about 23 Years.

*Diogenes Edwards* of *Carston* in the County of *Salop*, Butcher, Aged 21 Years or thereabouts.

*Giles Gryce* of *Wellington* in *Shropshire*, Gent.

*John Vinson* of *Damorham* in the County of *Wilts*, Gent.

*Geoage Seely* of *London*, Cordwainer.

*John More* of the City of *Corke* in *Ireland*, Gent.

*Thomas Ives* of *Boyset*, in the County of *Northampton*, Husbandman.

*Tho. Rawlins* of *Hanslop*, in the County of *Bucks*, Gent.

*Thomas Read* of *Maidstone* in the County of *Kent*, Gent.

*James Crosby* of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, Barber.

*Samuel Burden* of *Lyneham* in the County of *Wilts*, Gent.

*Michael Potts* of *Sharpereton* in the County of *Northumberland*, Vintner.

*George Cornwal* of *Aston* in the County of *Hereford*, Ferryman, Aged 50 Years, or thereabouts.

*Henry Gooche* of *Gray's-Inn* in the County of *Middlesex*, Gent.

*Robert Williams* of the Parish of *St. Martins* in the County of *Cornwal*, Husbandman, Aged about 23 Years.

*Richard Price* of *London*, Scrivener.

*Mr. Thomas Challoner* also reporteth several Papers and Letters of the King's writing, and under his own Hand.

After which the Court sat private, taking into Consideration the whole Matter in Charge against the King, passed these *Votes* following, as preparatory to the Sentence against the King, but Ordered that they should not be binding finally to conclude the Court, *viz.*

Resolved upon the whole matter, *That this Court will proceed to Sentence of Condemnation against CHARLES STUART, King of England.*

Resolved, &c. *That the Condemnation of the King shall be for a Tyrant, Traitor, and Murtherer.*

*That the Condemnation of the King, shall be likewise for being a publick Enemy to the Commonwealth of England.*

*That this Condemnation shall extend to Death.*

27 Jan.



27 Jan. 1648. *post Merid.* Westminster-Hall.

The Lord President, and the rest of the Commissioners come together from the *Painted Chamber* to *Westminster-Hall*, according to their Adjournment, and take their Seats there as formerly; and three Proclamations being made for Attendance and Silence. The Court is called.

The Commissioners present.

John Bradshaw, Serjeant at Law, L. Pres. of this Court.

John Lisle.

William Say.

Oliver Cromwel.

Henry Ireton.

Sir Hardress Waller, Knight.

Sir John Bourchier, Knight.

William Heveningham.

Isaac Pennington, Ald. of Lon.

Henry Marten.

William Purefoy.

John Barkstead.

Matthew Tomlinson,

John Blackistone.

Gilbert Millington.

Sir William Constable, Bar.

Edmond Ludlow.

John Hutchinson.

Sir Michael Livesey, Bar.

Robert Tichbourne.

Owen Roe.

Robert Lilbourne.

Adrian Scroope.

Richard Deane.

John Okey.

John Huson.

William Goffe.

Cornelius Holland.

John Carew.

John Jones.

Miles Corbet.

Francis Allen.

Peregr. Pelham.

Daniel Blagrove.

Valentine Wanton.

Thomas Harrison.

Edward Whalley.

Thomas Pride.

Isaac Ewers.

Tho. L. Grey of Groby.

Sir John Danvers.

Sir Tho. Maleverer, Bar.

John Moor.

John Alured.

Henry Smith.

Humphrey Edwards.

Gregory Clement.

Thomas Wogan.

Sir Gregory Norton, Bar.

Edmond Harvey.

John Venn.

Thomas Scot.

Tho. Andrews, Ald. of Lond.

William Camley.

Anthony Stapeley.

John Downs.

Thomas Horton.

Thomas Hamond.

Nicholas Love.

Vineent Potter.

Augustine Garland.

John Dixwel.

George Fleetwood.

Simon Meyne.

James Temple.

Peter Temple.

Thomas Waite.

THE King being come in his wonted Posture, with his Hat on, some of the Soldiers began to call for *Justice, Justice, and Execution*: But Silence being commanded, His Majesty began:

*I desire a Word, to be heard a little; and I hope I shall give no occasion of Interruption.*

Bradshaw Sawcily Answered, You may answer in your time, hear the Court first.

His Majesty patiently replied, *If it please you, Sir, I desire to be heard; and I shall not give any occasion of Interruption; and it is only in a Word. A sudden Judgment----*

Bradshaw. Sir, You shall be heard in due time; but you are to hear the Court first.

King. Sir, *I desire it; it will be in order to what I believe the Court will say: And therefore, Sir, ---- A hasty Judgment is not so soon recalled.*

Bradshaw. Sir, You shall be heard before the Judgment be given; and in the mean time you may forbear.

King. Well, Sir, *Shall I be heard before the Judgment be given?*

Bradshaw. Gentlemen, It is well known to all or most of you here present, that the Prisoner at the Bar hath been several times convented and brought before this Court, to make Answer to a Charge of Treason, and other High Crimes exhibited against him in the Name of the People of *England*: To which Charge, being required to Answer, he hath been so far from Obeying the Commands of the Court, by submitting to their Justice, as he began to take upon him to offer Reasoning and Debate unto the Authority of the Court, and to the highest Court, that appointed them to Try and Judge him: But being over-ruled in that, and required to make his Answer, he was still pleased to continue contumacious, and to refuse to submit to answer.

*Here a Lady interposed, saying, Not half the People; but was silenced with Threats.*

Hereupon, the Court, that they might not be wanting to themselves, nor the Trust reposed in them, nor that any Man's Willfulness prevent Justice, they have thought fit to take the matter into their Consideration; they have considered of the Charge, they have considered of the Contumacy, and of that Confession which in Law doth arise from that Contumacy,

macy ; they have likewise considered of the Notoriety of the Fact charged upon this Prisoner : And upon the whole Matter, they are resolved, and are agreed upon a Sentence to be pronounced against this Prisoner. But in respect he doth desire to be heard before the Sentence be read and pronounced, the Court hath resolved that they will hear him.

Yet, *Sir*, Thus much I tell you beforehand, which you have been minded of at other Courts, That if that which you have to say, be to offer any Debate concerning the Jurisdiction, you are not to be heard in it. You have offered it formerly, and you have struck at the Root, that is, the Power and supreme Authority of the *Commons of England* ; which this Court will not admit a Debate of, and which indeed, it is an irrational thing in them to do, being a Court that acts upon Authority derived from them. But, *Sir*, if you have any thing to say in defence of yourself, concerning the Matter Charged, the Court hath given me in Command to let you know they will hear you.

King. *Since I see that you will not hear any thing of Debate, concerning that which I confess I thought most material for the Peace of the Kingdom, and for the Liberty of the Subject, I shall wave it, I shall speak nothing to it : But only I must tell you, That this many-a-day all things have been taken away from Me, but that that I call dearer to Me than My Life, which is My Conscience, and My Honour : And if I had a respect to My Life more than the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, certainly I should have made a particular Defence for myself ; for by that, at leastwise, I might have delayed an ugly Sentence, which I believe will pass upon me. Therefore certainly, Sir, as a Man that hath some understanding, some knowledge of the World, if that my true Zeal to my Countrey, had not overborn the care that I have for my own Preservation, I should have gone another way to work than that I have done. Now, Sir, I conceive that an hasty Sentence once past, may sooner be repented of, than recalled : And truly, the selfsame desire that I have for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subjects, more than my own particular Ends, makes me now at last desire, That I having something to say that concerns both, before Sentence be given, that I may be heard in the Painted Chamber before the Lords and Commons. This Delay cannot be prejudicial unto you, whatsoever I say. If that I say no Reason, those*



That hear me must be Judges, I cannot be Judge of that that I have. If it be Reason, and really for the welfare of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, I am sure on it, it is very well worth the hearing: Therefore I do conjure you, as you love that that you pretend, (I hope it is real) the Liberty of the Subject, the Peace of the Kingdom, that you will grant me this hearing before any Sentence be past. I only desire this, That you will take this into your consideration; it may be you have not heard of it beforehand. If you will, I will retire, and you may think of it: But if I cannot get this Liberty, I do protest that these fair Shews of Liberty and Peace, are pure Shews, and that you will not hear your King.

Bradshaw. Sir, You have now spoken.

King. Yes, Sir.

Bradshaw. And this that you have said, is a further declining of the Jurisdiction of this Court, which was the thing wherein you were limited before.

King. Pray excuse me, Sir, for my Interruption, because you mistake Me. It is not a declining of it; you do Judge me before you hear me speak. I say it will not, I do not decline it; tho' I cannot acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Court, yet, Sir, in this, give me leave to say, I would do it, tho' I did not acknowledge it; in this I do protest, it is not the declining of it, since, I say, if that I do say any thing but that that is for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, then the shame is mine. Now I desire that you will take this into your Consideration: If you will, I will withdraw.

Bradshaw. Sir, This is not altogether new that you have moved to us, not altogether new to us, tho' the first time in person you have offered it to the Court. Sir, You say you do not decline the Jurisdiction of the Court.

King. Not in this that I have said.

Bradshaw. I understand you well, Sir; but nevertheless, that which you have offered, seems to be contrary to that saying of yours; for the Court are ready to give a Sentence. It is not as you say, That they will not hear their King; for they have been ready to hear You; they have patiently waited your Pleasure for three Courts together, to hear what You would say to the People's Charge against You: To which you have not vouchsafed to give any answer at all. Sir, this tends to a further delay. Truly, Sir, such Delays

lays as these, neither may the Kingdom nor Justice well bear. You have had three several Days to have offered in this kind what you would have pleased. This Court is founded upon that Authority of the *Commons of England*, in whom rests the Supreme Jurisdiction. That which you now tender, is to have another Jurisdiction, and a co-ordinate Jurisdiction. I know very well, You express Your self, *Sir*, That notwithstanding that you would offer to the Lords and Commons in the *Painted Chamber*; yet nevertheless You would proceed on here; I did hear you say so. But, *Sir*, that you would offer there, whatever it is, must needs be in Delay of the Justice here; so as if this Court be resolved and prepared for the Sentence, this that You offer they are not bound to grant. But, *Sir*, according to that You seem to desire, and because you shall know the further Pleasure of the Court upon that which you have moved, the Court will withdraw for a time.

This he did to prevent the Disturbance of their Scene by one of their own Members, Col. *John Downs*, who could not stifle the Reluctance of his Conscience, when he saw his Majesty press so earnestly for a short Hearing; but declaring himself unsatisfied, forced them to yield to the King's Request.

King. *Shall I withdraw?*

*Bradshaw*, Sir, you shall know the Pleasure of the Court presently.

*The Court withdraws for half an hour into the Court of Wards.*

*Serjeant at Arms.* The Court gives Command that the Prisoner be withdrawn; and they give order for his Return again.

Then withdrawing into the Chamber of the *Court of Wards*, their Business was not to consider of His Majesty's Desire, but to chide *Downs*, and with Reproaches and Threats to harden him to go thro' the Remainder of their Villany with them.

*Which done, they return; and being sate, Bradshaw commanded,*

*Serjeant at Arms*, Send for your Prisoner.

*Who being come, Bradshaw proceeded.*

*Sir*, You were pleased to make a Motion here to the Court, to offer a Desire of yours touching the propounding of some-  
what

what to the Lords and Commons in the *Painted Chamber*, for the Peace of the Kingdom. *Sir*, You did in effect receive an Answer before the Court Adjourned: Truly, *Sir*, their Withdrawing and Adjournment was *pro forma tantum*; for it did not seem to them that there was any difficulty in the thing. They have considered of what you have moved, and have considered of their own Authority, which is founded upon the Supreme Authority of the *Commons of England* Assembled in Parliament: The Court acts accordingly to their Commission. *Sir*, The Return I have to you from the Court is this, That they have been too much delayed by you already, and this that you now offer hath occasioned some little further Delay; and they are Judges appointed by the Highest Authority, and Judges are no more to Delay, than they are to deny Justice: They are good Words in the *Great Old Charter of England*, *Nulli negabimus, nulli vendemus, nulli deferemus Justitiam*: There must be no Delay. But the truth is, *Sir*, and so every Man here observes it, that you have much Delayed them in your Contempt and Default, for which they might, long since, have proceeded to Judgment against you; and, notwithstanding what you have offered, they are resolved to proceed to Sentence and to Judgment, and that is their unanimous Resolution.

King. *Sir*, I know it is in vain for me to dispute; I am no Sceptick for to deny the Power that you have; I know that you have Power enough. *Sir*, I must confess, I think it would have been for the Kingdom's Peace, if you would have taken the Pains to have shewn the Lawfulness of your Power.

For this Delay that I have desired, I confess it is a Delay; but it is a Delay very important for the Peace of the Kingdom: For it is not my Person that I look at alone, it is the Kingdom's Welfare and the Kingdom's Peace.

It is an old Sentence, That we should think on long before we resolve of great Matters suddenly. Therefore, *Sir*, I do say again, that I do put at your Doors all the Inconveniency of a hasty Sentence. I confess I have been here now, I think, this Week, this Day Eight Days, was the Day I came here first; but a little Delay of a Day or two further, may give Peace, whereas a hasty Judgment may bring on that trouble and perpetual inconveniency to the Kingdom, that the Child that is unborn may repent it. And therefore



fore again, out of the Duty I owe to GOD and to My Countrey, I do desire that I may be heard by the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, or any other Chamber that you will appoint Me.

Bradshaw. You have been already answered to what you even now moved, being the same you moved before, since the Resolution and the Judgment of the Court in it; and the Court now requires to know whether you have any more to say for yourself than you have said, before they proceed to Sentence.

King. I say this, Sir, That if you hear Me, if you will give me but this Delay, I doubt not but I shall give some satisfaction to you all here, and to my People after that; and therefore I do require you, as you will Answer it at the dreadful Day of Judgment, that you will consider it once again.

Bradshaw. Sir, I have received Direction from the Court.

King. Well, Sir.

Bradshaw. If this must be re-inforced, or any thing of this nature, your Answer must be the same; and they will proceed to Sentence if you have nothing more to say.

King. I have nothing more to say; but I shall desire that this may be entered what I have said.

Bradshaw. The Court then, Sir, hath something to say unto you, which, altho' I know it will be very unacceptable, yet notwithstanding, they are willing and are resolved to discharge their Duty.

Then Bradshaw went on in a long Harangue, endeavoring to justify their Proceedings, misapplying Law and History, and raking up and wresting whatsoever he thought fit for his purpose, alledging the Examples of former Treasons and Rebellions, both at home and abroad, as authentick Proofs; and concluding, that the King was a Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and Publick Enemy to the Commonwealth of England.

His Majesty having, with his wonted Patience, heard all these Reproaches, answered,

I would desire only one Word before you give Sentence, and that is, That you would hear me concerning these great imputations that you have laid to my Charge.

Bradshaw. Sir, You must give me now leave to go on; for I am not far from your Sentence, and your time is now past.

King.

King. *But I shall desire you will hear Me a few words to you ; for, truly, whatever Sentence you will put upon Me, in respect of those heavy imputations that I see by your speech you have put upon Me. Sir, it is very true that---*

*Bradshaw.* Sir, I must put you in mind: Truly, Sir, I would not willingly, at this time especially, interrupt you in any thing you have to say that is proper for us to admit of: But, Sir, You have not owned us as a Court, and you look upon us as a sort of People met together, and we know what Language we receive from your Party.

King. *I know nothing of that.*

*Bradshaw.* You disavow us as a Court, and therefore for you to address yourself to us, not to acknowledge us as a Court to Judge of what you say, it is not to be permitted. And the truth is, all along from the first time you were pleased to disavow, and disown us, the Court needed not to have heard you one word ; for, unless they be acknowledged a Court, and engaged, it is not proper for you to speak. Sir, we have given you too much Liberty already, and admitted of too much Delay, and we may not admit of any further. Were it proper for us to do, we should hear you freely, and we should not have declined to have heard you at large, what you could have said or proved on your behalf, whether for totally excusing, or for in part excusing those great and heinous Charges that in whole or in part are laid upon you: But, Sir, I shall trouble you no longer ; your Sins are of so large a dimension, that if you do but seriously think of them, they will drive you to a sad consideration, and they may improve in you a sad serious Repentance. And that the Court doth heartily wish, that you may be so penitent for what you have done amiss, that GOD may have Mercy at leastwise upon your better part. Truly, Sir, for the other, it is our Parts and Duties to do that that the Law prescribes. We are not here *Jus dare*, but *Jus dicere*: We cannot be unmindful of what the Scripture tells us, *For to acquit the Guilty is of equal Abomination as to condemn the Innocent.* We may not acquit the Guilty. What Sentence the Law affirms to a Traytor, Tyrant, a Murderer, and a Publick Enemy to the Country, that Sentence you are now to hear read unto you ; and that is the Sentence of the Court.

Make an, O Yes, and command Silence while the Sentence is read.

Which

Which being done, their Clerk, Broughton, read the Sentence, drawn up in Parchment.

*Whereas the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, have, by their late Act, Entituled, An Act of the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, for Erecting of an High Court of Justice, for the Trying and Judging of CHARLES STUART King of England; Authorized and Constituted us an High Court of Justice for the Trying and Judging of the said CHARLES STUART, for the Crimes and Treasons in the said Act mentioned; by vertue whereof, the said CHARLES STUART hath been three several times committed before this High Court, where, the first Day, being Saturday the Twentieth of Jan. instant, in pursuance of the said Act, a Charge of High Treason and other High Crimes, was, in the behalf of the People of England, Exhibited against him, and read openly unto him, wherein he was charged, That he the said CHARLES STUART, being admitted King of England, and therein trusted with a limited Power to govern by, and according to the Law of the Land, and not otherwise; and by his Trust, Oath and Office, being obliged to use the Power committed to him, for the Good and Benefit of the People, and for the Preservation of their Rights and Liberties; Yet nevertheless, out of a wicked Design to erect and uphold in himself an unlimited and tyrannical Power to rule according to his Will, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People, and to take away and make void the Foundations thereof, and of all redress and remedy of misgovernment, which by the Fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdom, were reserved on the Peoples behalf, in the Right and Power of frequent and successive Parliaments or National Meetings in Council, He the said CHARLES STUART, for accomplishment of such his Designs, and for the Protecting of himself and his Adherents, in his and their wicked Practices, to the same End, hath Traiterously and Maliciously levied War against the present Parliament, and the People therein represented, as with the circumstances of Time and Place, is in the said Charge more particularly set forth; and that he hath thereby caused and procured many Thousands of the free People of this Nation to be slain; and, by Divisions, Parties, and Insurrections within this Land, by Invasions from Foreign Parts, endeavoured and procured by him, and by*  
*many*



many other evil ways and means, he the said CHARLES STUART hath not only maintained and carried on the said War both by Sea and Land, but also hath renewed or caused to be renewed the said War against the Parliament and good People of this Nation, in this present Year 1648. in several Counties and Places in this Kingdom, in the Charge specified; and that he hath, for that purpose, given his Commission to his Son the Prince, and others, whereby, besides Multitudes of other Persons, many, such as were by the Parliament intrusted and employed, for the safety of this Nation, being by him or his Agents corrupted, to the betraying of their Trust, and revolting from the Parliament, have had Entertainment and Commission for the continuing and renewing of the War and Hostility against the said Parliament and People; and that by the said cruel and unnatural War so levied, continued and renewed, much innocent Blood of the free People of this Nation hath been spilt, many Families undone, the Publick Treasure wasted, Trade obstructed and miserably decayed, vast expence and damage to the Nation incurred, and many parts of the Land spoiled, some of them even to desolation; and that he still continues his Commission to his said Son, and other Rebels and Revolters, both English and Foreigners, and to the Earl of Ormond, and to the Irish Rebels and Revolters associated with him, from whom further Invasions upon this Land are threatned by his procurement, and on his behalf; and that all the said wicked Designs, Wars, and evil Practices of him the said CHARLES STUART, were still carried on for the Advancement and Upholding of the Personal Interest of Will, Power, and pretended Prerogative to himself and his Family, against the Publick Interest, Common Right, Liberty, Justice and Peace of the People of this Nation; and that he thereby hath been and is the Occasioner, Author, and Continuer of the said unnatural, cruel, and bloody Wars, and therein guilty of all the Treasons, Murthers, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Desolations, Damage and Mischief to this Nation, acted and committed in the said Wars; or occasioned thereby: Whereupon the Proceedings and Judgment of this Court were prayed against him, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and publick Enemy to the Commonwealth, as by the said Charge more fully appeareth: To which Charge, being read unto him, as aforesaid, He the said CHARLES STUART

was required to give his Answer ; but he refused so to do. and upon Monday, the Twenty-second Day of January instant, being again brought before this Court, and there required to answer directly to the said Charge, he still refused so to do ; whereupon his Default and Contumacy was Entred : And the next Day, being the third time brought before the Court, Judgment was then prayed against him, on the behalf of the People of England, for his Contumacy, and for the Matters contained against him in the said Charge, as taking the same for confest, in regard of his refusing to answer thereto : Yet notwithstanding, this Court (not willing to take advantage of his Contempt) did once more require him to answer to the said Charge, but he again refused so to do ; Upon which his several Defaults, this Court might justly have proceeded to Judgment against him, both for his Contumacy, and the matters of the Charge, taking the same for confest, as aforesaid.

Yet nevertheless, this Court, for their own clearer Information, and further Satisfaction, have thought fit to examine Witnesses upon Oath, and take notice of other Evidences touching the Matters contained in the said Charge, which accordingly they have done.

Now therefore upon serious and mature deliberation of the Premises, and consideration had of the Notoriety of the Matters of Fact charged upon him, as aforesaid, this Court is in Judgment and Conscience satisfied, that he, the said CHARLES STUART, is guilty of Levying War against the said Parliament, and People, and maintaining and continuing the same ; for which, in the said Charge, he stands accused, and by the general course of his Government, Councils, and Practices before and since this Parliament began (which have been, and are, notorious and publick, and the Effects whereof remain abundantly upon Record) this Court is fully satisfied in their Judgments and Consciences, that he hath been and is guilty of the wicked Designs and Endeavours in the said Charge set forth, and that the said War hath been levied, maintained and continued by him, as aforesaid, in prosecution and for accomplishment of the said Designs ; and that he hath been and is the Occasioner, Author, and Continuer, of the said unnatural, cruel and bloody Wars, and therein guilty of High Treason, and of the Murthers, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Desolations, Damage and Mischief to this Nation,

acted

acted and committed in the said War, and occasioned thereby. For all which Treasons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudge, That he the said CHARLES STUART, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and Publick Enemy to the good People of this Nation, shall be put to Death by the severing of his Head from his Body.

Which being read, *Bradshaw* added,  
*The Sentence now read and published, is the Act, Sentence, Judgment and Resolution of the whole Court.*

To which they all expressed their Assent, by standing up, as was before agreed and ordered.

His Majesty then said,  
*Will you hear me a Word, Sir?*

*Bradshaw.* Sir, You are not to be heard after the Sentence.

King. No, Sir?

*Bradshaw.* No, Sir; by your Favour, Sir.

Guard, Withdraw your Prisoner.

King. I may speak after Sentence, by your favour, Sir,  
 I may speak after Sentence, ever.

By your favour hold: The Sentence, Sir, -- I say Sir, I do --  
 I am not suffered to speak; expect what Justice other People will have.

His Majesty being taken away by the Guard, as he passed down the Stairs, the insolent Soldiers Scoffed at him, casting the Smoke of their Tobacco (a thing very distasteful unto him) in his Face, and throwing their Pipes in his way; and one, more Insolent than the rest, spitting in his Face, His Majesty, according to his wonted Heroick Patience, took no more notice of so strange and barbarous an Indignity, than to wipe it off with his Handkerchief.

As he passed along, hearing the Rabble of Soldiers crying out, *Justice, Justice*; he said,

*Poor Souls, for a piece of Money they would do so for their Commanders.*

Being brought first to Sir Robert Cotton's, and thence to Whitehall, the Soldiers continued their brutish Carriage toward him, abusing all that seemed to shew any respect, or even pity to him; not suffering him to rest in his Chamber, but thrusting in, and smoking their Tobacco, and disturbing his Privacy.

But thro' all these Trials (unusual to Princes) he passed with such a calm and even Temper, that he let fall nothing unbecoming his former Majesty and Magnanimity. In



In the Evening, a Member of the Army acquainted the Committee with His Majesty's Desire, *That seeing they had passed a Sentence of Death upon him, and his time might be nigh, he might see his Children; and Doctor Juxon Bishop of London, might be admitted to assist him in his private Devotions, and receiving the Sacrament.* Both which, at length, were granted.

And the next Day, being Sunday, He was attended by the Guard to S. James's; where the Bishop Preached before Him, upon these Words, *In the Day when GOD shall judge the Secrets of all Men by JESUS CHRIST according to my Gospel.*

---

*At the High Court of Justice for the Trying and Judging of CHARLES STUART, King of England, Jan. 29. 1648.*

WHEREAS CHARLES STUART; King of England, is and standeth Convicted, Attainted and Condemned of High Treason, and other High Crimes, and Sentence upon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Court, to be put to Death by the severing of his Head from his Body, of which Sentence Execution yet remaineth to be done; These are therefore to Will and Require you to see the said Sentence Executed in the open Street before Whitehall, upon the Morrow being the Thirtieth Day of this instant Month of January, between the Hours of Ten in the Morning, and Five in the Afternoon of the same Day, with full Effect. And for so doing, this shall be your sufficient Warrant. And these are to require all Officers, Soldiers and others, the Good People of this Nation of England, to be assisting unto you in this Service.

*Given under our Hands and Seals.*

*To Col. Francis Hacker, Col. Hunks,  
and Lieutenant Col. Phray, and  
to every of them.*

Bbb

Sealed

## Sealed and Subscribed, by

John Bradshaw.  
Tho. Grey.  
Oliver Cromwel.  
Edward Whalley.  
Michael Livesey.  
John Okey.  
John Danvers.  
John Bouchier.  
Henry Ireton.  
Tho. Maleverer.  
John Blackstone.  
John Hutchinson.  
William Goffe.  
Tho. Pride.  
Peter Temple.  
Tho. Harrison.  
John Huson.  
Henry Smith.  
Peregrine Pelham.  
Simon Meyne.  
Tho. Horton.  
John Jones.  
John Moor.  
Hardress Waller.  
Gilbert Millington.  
George Fleetwood.  
John Alured.  
Robert Lilbourne.  
William Say.  
Anthony Stapley.

Richard Dean.  
Robert Tichbourne.  
Humphrey Edwards.  
Daniel Blaygrave.  
Owen Roe.  
William Purefoy.  
Adrian Scroope.  
James Temple.  
Augustine Garland.  
Edmund Ludlow.  
Henry Marten.  
Vincent Potter.  
William Constable.  
Richard Ingoldsby.  
William Cawley.  
John Berkstead.  
Isaac Ewers.  
John Dixwell.  
Valentine Wauton.  
Gregory Norton.  
Tho. Challoner.  
Tho. Wogan.  
John Venn.  
Gregory Clement.  
John Downs.  
Tho. Waite.  
Tho. Scot.  
John Carew.  
Miles Corbet.

His Majesty's Speech upon the Scaffold, &c.

*I shall be very little heard of any Body here; I shall therefore speak a word unto you here (directing himself to Col. Tomlinson.)*

*Indeed I could hold my Peace very well, if I did not think that holding my Peace would make some Men think that I did submit to the Guilt as well as to the Punishment. But I think it is my Duty, to GOD first, and to my Country, for to clear myself, both as an honest Man, a good King, and a good Christian.*

*I shall begin first with my Innocence.*

*In troth, I think it not very needful for me to insist long upon this; for all the World knows that I never did begin a War first with the Two Houses of Parliament, and I call GOD to witness, to whom I must shortly make an Account, that I never did intend for to encroach upon their Privileges; they began upon me; it is the Militia they began upon; they confess that the Militia was mine, but they thought it fit for to have it from me. And, to be short, if any body will look to the Dates of Commissions, of their Commissions and mine, and likewise to the Declarations, they will see clearly that they began these unhappy Troubles, not I. So that as to the guilt of these enormous Crimes that are laid against me, I hope in GOD that GOD will clear me of it. I will not (I am in Charity) GOD forbid that I should lay it on the Two Houses of Parliament; there is no necessity of either: I hope they are free of this Guilt. For I do believe that Ill Instruments between them and me have been the chief Cause of all this Bloodshed: So that by way of speaking, as I find myself clear of this, I hope and pray GOD that they may too. Yet for all this, GOD forbid that I should be so ill a Christian as not to say that GOD's Judgments are just upon me; many times He does pay Justice by an unjust Sentence; that is ordinary: I will only say this, That an unjust Sentence \* that I suffered to take effect, is punished now by an unjust Sentence upon me. That is, --- so far I have said, to shew you that I am an Innocent Man.*

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\* Upon the Earl of Strafford.



Now for to shew you that I am a good Christian.

*I hope there is a good Man\* that will bear me witness, that I have forgiven all the World, and even those in particular that have been the chief Causers of my Death: Who they are, GOD knows, I do not desire to know, I pray GOD forgive them. But this is not all, my Charity must go further; I wish that they may repent; for indeed they have committed a great Sin in that Particular; I pray GOD with St. Stephen, that this be not laid to their Charge. Nay, not only so, but that they may take the right way to the Peace of the Kingdom: For my Charity commands me not only to forgive particular Men, but my Charity commands me to endeavour to the last Gasp, the Peace of the Kingdom. So, Sirs, I do wish with all my Soul, (and I do hope there is some here† will carry it further) that they may endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom.*

*Now, Sirs, I must shew you both how you are out of the way, and will put you in a way.*

*First, You are out of the way; For certainly all the way you ever have had yet, as I could find by any thing, is in the way of Conquest. Certainly this is an ill way; for Conquest, Sir, in my Opinion, is never just, except there be a good just Cause, either for matter of Wrong or just Title; and then if you go beyond it, the first Quarrel that you have to it, that makes it unjust at the end that was just at the first. But if it be only matter of Conquest, then it is a great Robbery, as a Pirate said to Alexander the Great, That he was the Great Robber, he was but a Petty Robber. And so, Sir, I do think the way that you are in is much out of the way.*

*Now, Sir, for to put you in the way; believe it, you will never do right, nor GOD will never prosper you, until you give GOD his Due, the King his Due, (that is, My Successors) and the People their Due: I am as much for Them as any of you.*

*You must give GOD his Due, by Regulating rightly his Church according to his Scripture, which is now out of Order. For to set you in a way particularly, now I cannot, but only this, a National Synod, freely Call'd, freely Debating among themselves, must settle this, when that every Opinion is freely and clearly heard.*

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\* Pointing to the Bishop.

† Turning to some Gentlemen that wrote.

For the King, indeed I will not ----- (Then turning to a Gentleman that touched the Axe he said, *Hurt not the Axe, that may hurt me.*) For the King, The Laws of the Land will clearly instruct you for that; therefore, because it concerns my own Particular, I only give you a Touch of it.

For the People: And truly I desire their Liberty and Freedom as much as any body whomsoever; but I must tell you, that their Liberty and Freedom consists in having of Government, those Laws by which their Lives and their Goods may be most their own. It is not for having share in Government, Sir; that is nothing pertaining to them: a Subject and a Sovereign are clear different things. And therefore until they do that, I mean, that you do put the People in that Liberty, as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves. Sirs, it was for this that now I am come here: If I would have given way to an Arbitrary way, for to have all Laws changed according to the Power of the Sword, I needed not to have come here; and therefore I tell you (and I pray GOD it be not laid to your Charge) that I am the MARTYR of the People.

In troth, Sirs, I shall not hold you much longer; for I will only say this to you, That, in truth, I could have desired some little time longer, because that I would have put this that I have said in little more order, and a little better digested than I have done, and therefore I hope you will excuse me.

I have delivered my Conscience, I pray GOD that you do take those Courses that are best for the good of the Kingdom, and your own Salvation.

Then the Bishop said, 'Tho' it be very well known what your Majesty's Affections are to the Protestant Religion, yet 'it may be expected that You should say somewhat for the 'World's satisfaction in that Particular.

Whereupon the King replied, I thank you very heartily, my Lord, for that I had almost forgotten it.

In troth, Sirs, My Conscience in Religion, I think, is very well known to all the World; and therefore I declare before you all, That I die a Christian according to the Profession of the Church of England, as I found it left me by my Father; and this honest Man\*, I think, will witness it.

\* Pointing to the Bishop.

Then turning to the Officers, he said, *Sirs, Excuse me for this same, I have a good Cause, and I have a gracious GOD, I will say no more.*

Then to Col. Hacker he said, *Take care that they do not put me to pain. And, Sir, this, and it please you -----*

But a Gentleman coming near the Axe, the King said, *Take heed of the Axe, pray take heed of the Axe.*

And to the Executioner he said, *I shall say but very short Prayers, and when I thrust out my hands -----*

Then he called to the Bishop for his Cap, and having put it on, asked the Executioner, *Does my Hair trouble you?*

Who desired him to put it all under his Cap; which, as he was doing, by the help of the Bishop and the Executioner, he turned to the Bishop, and said, *I have a good Cause, and a gracious GOD on my side.*

The Bishop said, 'There is but one Stage more\* ; which, 'tho' turbulent and troublesome, yet it is a very short one ; 'you may consider, it will soon carry you a very great way ; 'it will carry you from Earth to Heaven ; and there you 'shall find, to your great Joy, the Prize you hasten to, a 'Crown of Glory.

The King adjoins, *I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the World.*

Bishop. 'You are exchanged from a Temporal to an 'Eternal Crown. A good Exchange !

Then the King asked the Executioner, *Is my Hair well?*

And taking off his Cloak and George, he delivered his George to the Bishop, saying, *Remember.*

Then putting off his Doublet, and being in his Waistcoat, he put on his Cloak again, and looking upon the Block, said to the Executioner, *You must set it fast.*

Executioner. It is fast, Sir.

King. *It might have been a little higher.*

Executioner. It can be no higher, Sir.

King. *When I put out my Hands this way, then -----*

Then having said a few Words to himself, as he stood, with Hands and Eyes lift up, immediately stooping down, he laid his Neck upon the Block, and the Executioner again

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\* These were spoken upon occasion of private Discourse between His Majesty and the Bishop, concerning the several Stages of Man's Life, and his Course through them, in allusion to Posts and Stages in a Race.  
putting



putting his Hair under his Cap, His Majesty thinking he had been going to strike, bad him, *Stay for the Sign.*

*Executioner.* Yes, I will, and it please your Majesty.

After a very short pause, His Majesty stretching forth his Hands, the Executioner severed his Head from his Body : Which being held up and shewed to the People, was with his Body put into a Coffin covered with Velvet, and carried into his Lodging.

His Blood was taken up by divers Persons for different Ends : By some as Trophies of their Villany, by others as Reliques of a Martyr ; and in some hath had the same effect, by the Blessing of GOD, which was often found in his Sacred Touch when living.

The Malice of his Enemies ended not with his Life : For when his Body was carried to St. *James's* to be opened, they directed their Empiricks to search for such Symptoms as might disgrace his Person or his Posterity ; but herein they were prevented by an honest Intruder, who gave a true Account of his Sound and Excellent Temperament.

Being Imbalm'd and laid in a Coffin of Lead, to be seen for some Days by the People, at length, upon *Wednesday* the Seventh of *February*, it was delivered to Four of his Servants, *Herbert, Mildmay, Preston, and Joyner*, who, with some others in Mourning Equipage, attended the Herse that Night to *Windso*r, and placed it in the Room which was formerly the King's Bed-Chamber.

Next Day it was removed into the Dean's Hall, which was hung with black and made dark, and Lights were set burning round the Herse. About Three Afternoon the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hartford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindsey*, and the Bishop of *London*, (others that were sent to, refusing that last Service to the best of Princes) came thither with two Votes passed that Morning, whereby the ordering of the King's Burial was committed to the Duke, provided that the Expences thereof exceeded not Five-hundred Pounds. This Order they shewed to Colonel *Whichcot*, the Governour of the Castle, desiring the Interment might be in St. *George's* Chappel, and according to the Form of the *Common-Prayer* : The latter Request the Governour denied, saying, that it was improbable the Parliament would permit the use of what they had so solemnly abolished, and therein destroy their own Act.

The Lords replied, That there was a difference betwixt

destroying their own Act, and dispensing with it, and that no Power so binds its own Hands, as to disable itself in some Cases. But all prevailed not.

The Governour had caused an ordinary Grave to be digged in the Body of the Church of *Windsor*, for the Interment of the Corps; which the Lords disdaining, found means, by the direction of an honest Man, one of the old Knights, to use an Artifice to discover a Vault in the middle of the Quire, by the hollow Sound they might perceive in knocking with a Staff upon that place; that so it might seem to be their own accidental finding out, and no Person receive Blame for the discovery. This place they caused to be opened, and entering, saw one large Coffin of Lead in the middle of the Vault; covered with a Velvet Pall, and a lesser on one side, (supposed to be *Henry VIII.* and his beloved Queen *Jane Saint-Maure*) on the other side was room left for another (probably intended for Queen *Katherine Parre*, who survived him) where they thought fit to lay the King.

Hither the Herse was born by the Officers of the Garison, the four Lords bearing up the Corners of the Velvet-Pall, and the Bishop of *London* following. And in this manner was this great King, upon *Friday* the Ninth of *February*, about Three Afternoon, Silently and without any other Solemnity than of Sighs and Tears, committed to the Earth, the Velvet Pall being thrown into the Vault over the Coffin, to which was fastned an Inscription in Lead of these Words,

KING CHARLES 1648.

Soon after these things, the famous *Claudius Salmasius* at *Leyden*, writ a *Defence of the King* in *Latin*, and dedicated it to King *Charles II.* In the Preface to his Book he has this Remark, *That it was manifest, the Government of Bishops was necessary in England, and that by the confession of Presbyterians themselves: For as soon as Episcopacy was destroy'd, a thousand pestilent Sects and Heresies sprung up, which had been suppress'd before.* And after he has with just Indignation, reproach'd the pretended Parliament for their villainous Treatment of the King and subversion of the Government, calling them the *Forty Tyrants*, and the *Cut-throats*, and shewing that they had no Jurisdiction over their King; he comes to the Book itself, which he divides into Twelve Chapters, n. 55. 1. 4.

I. In the first Chapter he shews, that Kings have as much Authority over their Subjects, as Parents have over their Children: and as that Son would be guilty of Parricide, who should kill his Father, tho' he were very peevish, and severe, and cruel to him; so that Subject would incur the same guilt who should murder his King, however tyrannical, and grievous his Government might be. 'Tis true, Kings have been murder'd of old; but it has been in a different manner, and by Men of other Religions: Who ever heard of such a thing done by Men of the Reform'd Religion, and in such a publick and formal Procedure? They did not do it in a transport of Fury, but with much Deliberation and Solemnity. It was not so much Hatred or Fear of their King, or any Provocation he had given them, which led them to destroy him; as an ambition to usurp his Authority, and be Kings themselves. Kingly Government was, in their Opinion, become burdensome and useles; and being so, the Conclusion they made was, that it might lawfully be destroy'd. So that the Piety and Innocence of the Prince was not at all consider'd by them. Their Quarrel was against his Office, *He must die, and Monarchy must die with him.* But how contrary was this to the Behaviour of the Primitive Christians; who, when they had Power to rebel, yet lived in Peaceable and Dutiful Subjection to Idolatrous Princes, who persecuted them and put them to Death for their Religion? But what shall we say of the Injury and Dishonour done to Christianity by this Horrid Fact? These *English Independants*, who pretend to reform the Reformation, and call themselves the Pure, the Elect, the Saints, outdo the very Pagans in Villany. But tho' they went out from us, our Comfort is, they cannot prove themselves to be of us.

II. Having in the former Chapter spoke of the Fact, he now comes to speak of the Law; and shews, that no Law of GOD or Man can be alleged in Justification of this unparalleled Wickedness. He divides the Question concerning this Fact into five Parts; and enquires, 1. Who Suffer'd? 2. By whom? 3. By what Authority? 4. For what Crime? 5. In what Court?

And, 1. The Person who Suffer'd, was the King: A Person above human Laws; accountable to none but GOD alone. This uncontrollable Power he shews to have been always allow'd to Kings by the Consent of all Nations, *Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Romans, Jews, Grecians, Pagans, and Chri-*



*Christians*, as appears from all Writers, Sacred and Civil. Under this Head he discourses largely of the Office and Authority of Kings; and explains several places of the Holy Scripture, concerning this point, particularly the Eighth Chapter of the first Book of *Samuel*, which he clears from the perverse Sense which *Bradshaw* put upon it; and takes occasion from hence, to shew, That the Office of a King is Lawful, and agreeable to the Word and Will of GOD. For, says he, it is not to be imagined that the People should be so importunate for a Form of Government which would, in its own Nature, prove pernicious to them (for they saw what it was in the Neighbouring Nations) or that GOD should grant such a hurtful Request. It is a mistake to say he was angry at the People for making it. He speaks very graciously to *Samuel*, in the Ninth Chapter, that he would send him a King who should deliver his People out of the Hand of the *Philistines*. He had allow'd them a King long before, in the Seventeenth Chapter of *Deuteronomy*. It was part of his Blessing promised to *Abraham*, that Kings should come out of his Loins. The Scepter was not to depart from *Judah* till the Messiah came, who himself was pleased to be stiled *A King*, and *King of Kings*. And how sacred the Persons of Kings are, may appear from this. GOD appointed *Saul* to be the first King of *Israel*: He proved notoriously Wicked and Irreligious; insomuch that *David* was, by express Revelation, anointed to be King, many Years before *Saul* was Dead: On which account *Saul* became his dangerous and implacable Enemy. Yet *David* would not be prevail'd on to destroy him, when it was twice in his Power, because he was a King, and the Lord's Anointed. What use would an *English* Fanatick have made of his Sword at such a time; who has gone thro' a Sea of Blood, even the Blood of the highest Nobility, to destroy a Prince who ruled the People with Piety and Justice?

III. The former Chapter has given an account of the right of Kings, from the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and thence it was proved, that not only good Princes, but even Tyrants are not accountable to the People for any thing they do, but must stand to the Judgment of GOD alone. Now he proceeds to consider, whether CHRIST in the New Testament has laid down any different Rule about this Matter. As for himself, he was born under the Monarchical Government of the *Romans*; and, during his Ministry, the reign-

ing Monarch *Tiberius* was a very wicked Man. Now CHRIST had Power enough to have alter'd this Government, yet he established it both by his Doctrine and Practice. *Render*, says he, *unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's*. And when the Tribute Money was demanded of him, he quietly paid it, tho' he wrought a Miracle to raise it. Agreeable to this, is the Doctrine of the Apostles: *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers; for there is no Power but of GOD; the Powers that be are ordained of GOD*. And, *Ye must needs be subject, not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience sake*. And St. Peter sets the Reverence due to Kings next to the Fear of GOD: *Fear GOD, honour the King*. And, *For this Cause*, says St. Paul, *pay ye Tribute also; for they are GOD's Ministers*. But, if we may believe the new Gospellers and Apostles, of the Deposing Doctrine, the King is the Minister and Servant of the People. This was asserted by *Bradshaw*, at the King's Tryal.

In this Chapter *Salmasius* proves at large, That Wicked, Idolatrous, and Heretical Princes must be endured; and that their Power is from GOD, as it was owned by *Irenæus*, *Justin Martyr*, *Athenagoras*, *Tertullian*, and the rest of the Ancient Fathers. And, lest the Fanaticks, who are no Friends to the Fathers, should say that they only flatter'd the Emperors of their Times, but were not sincere in their Loyalty to them, he answers this Objection out of *Tertullian's* Apology: *You*, says *Tertullian*, *who think we are not serious in our Prayers for the Emperor's Welfare, look into our Bibles which we do not hide, and there you will see that we are commanded to pray with more than ordinary Affection for our very Enemies and Persecutors*. And who are greater Enemies and Persecutors of the Christians than the Kings, before whose Tribunals we are convened? yet this is expressly and plainly given us in charge, to pray for Kings and Princes and Powers, that they may have Peace and Quietness.

IV. In this fourth Chapter he considers, whether the Doctrine of Passive Obedience to Ill Princes has been universally practiced by the Church under the Old and New Testament. He begins with the Jews, and reckons from the Days of *Saul* to *Herod*. The Behaviour of *David* to *Saul*, which was hinted at in the second Chapter, is here more fully insisted on. The Revolt of the Ten Tribes from *Rehoboam* is urged as an Objection against Passive Obedience, and determined to be  
sinful,

finful. Then he takes notice that there were a great many Impious and Idolatrous Kings of *Israel*; and that they were sharply reprov'd by the Prophets, and threatn'd with the Judgments of GOD. And tho' these Prophets were Persecuted and Destroyed by them, yet they never stirr'd up the People to rebel against them, nor subborn'd any Traitor to attempt their Lives. After their return from the Babylonian Captivity, when the Prophetick Spirit was departed from them, they often endured very ill Men for their Governours, as *Aristobulus* and *Jannæus*, without rebelling against them. And when they were under the Roman Yoke, tho' some particular Men rais'd Seditions and Commotions, yet the Publick Ministers of Religion Sacrificed twice a Day for the Emperor and People of *Rome*.

Concerning the Primitive Christians Obedience to Princes, what he had laid down in the former Chapter, he now enlarges upon, and proves from their Publick Liturgies, their Apologies, and other Writings; that they prayed for Infidel, Cruel, Persecuting Emperors (not like our impure Puritans, that GOD would either turn their Hearts, or take them out of the World, but) that they might be blest with long Life, prosperous Government, valiant Armies, faithful Counsellors, loyal People, and a quiet World. What greater Blessings could they wish to the most Pious Christian Prince? *Tertullian* glories, that in all the Plots against the Emperors, from *Marcus Antoninus*, down to *Severus*, the Christians (who were then very numerous and in great Offices at Court) were never concern'd. It is the Principle of our Fanaticks, that the People have a right to remove their King, and free themselves from his Government, whenever they shall see cause, and have Power enough to do it. And therefore they think that the Primitive Christians wanted not a Will, but a Power to rebel against the Emperors. But *Tertullian* in his Apology, shews that it was otherwise: For he says, *The Christians had filled all places, Cities, Castles, Councils, Camps, &c. and were strong enough for any War*. Nay, he says, they could have ruined their Persecutors, *without fighting, but only removing from among them*: Which shews they were very numerous indeed.

After this follow several notable Passages for Passive Obedience, out of *Gregory Nazianzen*, *St. Ambrose*, and *St. Austin*. And, towards the end of this Chapter, the Author observes, that the Pope, making himself a God upon Earth,

arrogates



arrogates a Power over Kings to Judge and Punish them; and that Pope *Zachary* (who was the first that undertook to absolve Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance) has broached the very Doctrine of the Fanaticks, viz. *That Kings are accountable to their People, for whose good they reign. For whatever Power, Glory, Riches, or Dignity they have, they derive all from the People, to whom they are Debtors for the same: The People made them what they are; and they may unmake them again.* This is the Doctrine of Pope *Zachary*.

V. Having shown that the Romish Doctrine which makes Kings the Popes Dependents, and the Fanatick Doctrine which asserts them to be at the Disposal of their People, are both contrary to reveal'd Religion; he now proceeds to prove that they are contrary to the Law of Nature and Nations. And tho' there be other Forms of Government in the World, yet he affirms, that Monarchy is more ancient and universal than all the rest. For certain it is, saith he, that not the Thousandth, nay, scarce the Hundred-thousandth part of Men are govern'd otherwise than by Monarchs. Here he touches again upon the Eighth Chapter of the First Book of *Samuel* concerning Regal Government. And quotes several of the most ancient Greek Poets, Philosophers and Historians, to shew how generally Kings were esteemed Sacred and Divine Persons, above the Stroke of human Laws and Punishments.

The more Religious and Goodnatur'd any People have been, the more Reverence they have had for their Kings and Magistrates: But the fierce and savage Nations have been the greatest Offenders against them. In the List of the Kings of *Scotland* there are reckon'd Fifty who have been either imprison'd, or banished, or murdered by their own People, and some in a publick manner. In *England*, since the Reign of *William the Conqueror*, Three Kings have been murder'd in Prison, *Edward II.* *Richard II.* and *Henry VI.* The *Romans* expell'd their King, and changed their Government to a Commonwealth; but the change cost them a world of Blood and Treasure. After this he proceeds to speak of some Peculiar Laws given to the Kings of *Israel*, which they broke, without any Punishment from Men. And towards the Conclusion he observes, That tho' the *Pharisees* of old were a proud, seditious, and factious Sect of Men, yet, in comparison of our Jesuits and Independents, were very modest, tractable, and good Friends to Princes.

VI. Having abundantly proved by all sorts of Testimonies and Authorities, of all Ages, Nations, and Religions, that the Majesty of Kings is inviolable, and subject to none but GOD only : He now undertakes to demonstrate the same from the Nature and Reason of the Thing, *viz.* That Kingly Government, in the nature of it, requires to be Independent and *sui juris*, otherwise there can be no such thing. For in the King resides the Supreme Power of the Nation ; which cannot be, if he be subject to any Power ; because that Power to which he is subject, is above him, and consequently he is not Supreme. And then it cannot be said, That Kings Reign by GOD, but by that other Power to which they are Subject, as the People, or Grandees, or whatever Power controuls them. After this he shews the absurd Form of Fanatick Government ; and the Mischiefs of electing Princes ; as the latter Emperors among the *Romans*, &c. But suppose the King be elected by the People, yet when he is once invested with Royal Dignity and Authority, he has Power over them, and not they over him. As the Emperor *Valentinian* answered his Soldiers, when they requested a thing of him which he would not grant : *It was once in your Power whether I should be your Emperor or not : But since you have elected me, it is in my Power to deny what you request. My part is to consider what I would have done ; and yours to be subject and obedient to my Commands.* If the People might, as often as they pleased, divest their Prince of his Power, there never would be any settled Peace in a Nation, but continual changing and undoing of things ; which would occasion Endless Troubles and Calamities : Insomuch that it has been found better to keep an Ill Prince on his Throne, than to remove him and put a better in his room. After this he discourses largely about the Power of Prince and People.

Further he affirms it to be a mistake, that a Nation subdued by Arms, may shake off the Conquerors Yoke, and recover their Liberty whenever they are able : All Laws, Divine and Human, forbid this. Whatever is got by Conquest becomes the property of the Conqueror. It was never allowed to Servants, who were taken in War, or bought with Money, to run away from, or rebel against their Masters. The Apostle commands such Servants to be subject to their Masters with all Fear, not only when they were gentle and good, but when they were harsh and froward. By the same reason ought a conquer'd People to be Subject and Loyal to their

their Prince, tho' he be an Infidel or Heretick, or, in other respects, an Ill Man. But while he shews how far Conquest and Possession give a good Title, he denies that this makes any thing for the Rebels against King *Charles I.*

VII. In this Chapter he insists upon the great point whereon the whole stress of his Defence lies, That Kings are not Subject to any Tribunal upon Earth, to be punished with Death or otherwise, for any thing that they shall do. Common Sense teaches us, that a Superior cannot be Judged by his Inferior: But a King has neither Superior nor Equal in his Kingdom: Therefore he cannot be judged; the Consequence is plain. The Judges in *Israel*, before the time of *Saul*, were in other respects Kings, for they were but one at a time, and he Govern'd for Term of Life; but then he was liable to be Tried by the Great Council; and that made the Difference; and so it is at *Venice* and in other States.

Tho', in Elective Kingdoms, the Kings have the same Supreme and uncontrollable Authority, as in those that are Hereditary, yet in other Respects, the latter has greater Advantages than the former, which he here sets forth.

In case a King, at his Election or Inauguration, shall swear to govern his Subjects according to the Laws of the Land, and that if he fails to do so, they shall be absolved from their Oath of Allegiance, and he will abdicate his Government; I say, in this case he is only liable to the Judgment of GOD, his Subjects cannot lawfully rise against him, and depose him for breaking his Coronation-Oath. And he shews that a King, in many respects, may be a very immoral Man, and yet a very good Governour. And proves very fully that he can in no Sense be guilty of Treason. And affirms, that no just Judge would have banished a Private Man for those things which our King's Rebellious Subjects put him to Death.

The Civil Law admits not Servants to accuse their Masters, nor freed Men their Patrons, nor Children their Parents, nor Vassals their Lords, much less Subjects their King, who has a right to their Love and Obedience on all these accounts. Here you may find an account of the People and their Power, and disorders in popular Elections: With the rise and decay of Kingdoms, Principalities, and Families: And the small account that is made of the Populace in most Countries.



VIII. Having pleaded the Cause of Kings in general, he now comes to a particular Defense of our King CHARLES I. The Rebels pretended that the King was only President of the Parliament, and chief Magistrate. He undertakes therefore to Discourse of our King's Power; and having observed that there are some Kings in Name only, and not in Power, as the Judges in *Israel*, who are sometimes called Kings, the *Carthaginian* and *Lacedemonian* Kings who were unaccountable to others; he considers what *Aristotle* says of Monarchy. That Philosopher makes four sorts of Monarchy distinct from Tyrannical Government. The first is that which obtained in the Heroick Age, when the King treated his Subjects as Brethren, and was many times their Priest as well as their King. The second is Despotick, where the Prince's Will is the Law, but the People willingly submit to it, as being Hereditary and continued among them by many Successions. The third is when the Prince is elected without any Conditions or Restraints laid upon him, so that he is absolute when once Elected. The fourth is the *Lacedemonian* Form, which we have mentioned before. In the three first the Monarch was really such, and had full Power over all; and so it was anciently in the *Laconick* Form, till *Lycurgus* alter'd it, and after him *Theopompus* subjected it to the *Ephori*. As for the *British* Crown, nobody can deny that it is Hereditary; and whatever Interruptions have been in the Royal Line, yet the Island was always govern'd by Kings. This is easily proved from the first account of it by *Julius Cæsar*, down to this time. Then for the Right and Power by which the King Reigns, 'tis plainly intimated to be Divine, by those Words in his Stile, *Charles by the Grace of GOD King*, &c. And in all publick Instruments where the King is mentioned, he is call'd, *Our Sovereign Lord the King*; and the Parliament's Subjection to him is intimated, by being call'd, *The Parliament of our Sovereign Lord*, &c. and *His Great Council*. And when there is no Parliament, the King Governs without it. He calls them, and he dissolves them.

There is no mention of a Parliament under the Kings that were before *William the Conqueror*, as *William Pryn* observes in his *Historical Collection* of the *Ancient Parliaments of England*; but there was a great Council of Princes, Bishops, Dukes, Earls, and Barons, which is now called, *The House of Peers*, without any *House of Commons*.

The

The Fanaticks distinguish between the Personal and the Political Capacity of the King; and conclude thence, that when the Apostle commands *not to resist the Powers*, he means not the Person of the King, but the King in a Politick Respect: For they say, the Person of the King may be destroy'd as well as any of the meanest of the People; but his Body Politick cannot be hurt. *See this confuted. p. 177, &c.*

IX. In this Chapter he proves from the Nature and Design of Parliamentary Votes and Debates, that the Supreme Power is in the King.

The Subjects of *Great-Britain* claim a threefold Privilege, *i. e.* Not to have new Taxes laid upon them, not to have new Laws given them, not to have the old ones repeal'd, without Acts of Parliament. But nothing can be done without the King's Assent. There never was any King in the *East* where the Royal Authority was most absolute, nor is there any at this Day in *Europe* more Sovereign in his Parliament than the King of *England* is. But the Rebels labour all they can to infringe this Power. They say the Parliament of *England* is the Supreme Tribunal of the Kingdom: And that when the King's Person is out of Parliament, his Power and Authority is supposed to be there. Therefore whatever is done in that Assembly in the absence of the King, is to be reputed as done by his Authority. But then this Authority is delegated and in Trust. So that whether his Presence be virtual or real, the Parliament can do nothing without him. For if there be no King, his Presence can in no sense ratify what is done there. But his personal and real Presence is necessary the first and last Days of Parliament; and if He be hindred by Sickness or otherwise, then he Commissions some Great Officers under the Broad-Seal to represent him. So that without King or Queen there can be no Parliament: 'Tis like a Body without a Head.

*Aristotle* says, a King ought to be a good General, a Priest, and a Judge: All these Offices were exercised by the Ancient *Grecian* Kings. The *Roman* and *Egyptian* Kings were invested with the Priesthood. Among the *Jews* it was thus after the Captivity; and before it the Kings deposed Priests as they saw fit, and sometimes put them to Death. The Kings of *England* have always had Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, both before and since the Reformation; and part of their Style is, *Defenders of the Faith*.

And tho' the Proceedings in Ecclesiastical Courts are in the Bishops Names, yet the Courts are called the Kings Courts, and the Laws, the Kings Laws. In *Edward* the VIth's time it is declared by Act of Parliament, That all Authority and Jurisdiction, Spiritual and Temporal, is derived from the King. *Salmasius* tells us, *p.* 204. that the King consulted the Learned in the Law, whether he might legally demand Ship-Money without an Act of Paliament? They answer'd, He might.

X. In this Chapter he enquires how it came to' pass, that an Innocent, Pious, and Good King, who was so tender of his People, came to be Condemned and put to Death, when scarce the Hundred-thousandth part of his People were consenting to it. There was but one of his Three Kingdoms immediately concern'd in his Death: And, in the Parliament, consisting of Clergy, Nobility, and Commons, there was not one Clergyman to Vote; for they had been ejected at the very beginning of this Quarrel. And the Nobility had very little more Power; they were Banished, and Beheaded, and brought to nothing. And of the Commons there was a very inconsiderable Number selected and pickt out by the Rebels Army, to accomplish this wicked Work.

The Independents were indeed the Finishers of this horrid Villany: But the Presbyterians had the Glory (if there be any Glory in such execrable Facts) of beginning it and carrying it on. And they had made such Progress in it, as did not leave it hard for the others to compleat it. *See more p.* 216, 217. He compares the Presbyterians to Highway-Men, who disarm a Traveller and tie him to a Tree; and the Independents to wild Beasts who come out and devour him.

The Substance of the Independents Doctrine is this, That the Kingdom of CHRIST cannot consist with the Kingdom of Men; that all Kings, tho' Christians, are to be reputed as the Enemies of CHRIST; that no King can be so good and Just, but he must be Unrighteous and Impious, in comparison of the Saints who compose the Kingdom of CHRIST, and study to advance it: That they are the only true Saints, who ought not to be subject to any Earthly King, because the Sanctity of the Faithful, and the Majesty of Kings, are incompatible; for so long as Earthly Kings Reign upon Earth, the Kingdom of CHRIST is hindered and delayed: And till they are removed out of the way, the Church cannot be  
free.



free. King *James*, in his *Basilicon Doron*, Paints these Men in their true Colours, and warns his Son to take heed of them : Which Advice if he had followed, it had been better for himself and his Kingdoms.

Formerly Kings were said to be Independent, as being accountable to none but GOD ; but now these Fanaticks are more properly Styled so, because they set themselves above Kings, and own no Superior in Church or State. In the same Page (which is 224) *Salmasius* declaims severely against Toleration of Heresy and Error, and denies them to be Orthodox who indulge it. And he observes that he that denies the Trinity is kindly treated by these Fanaticks ; but he that opposes any Article of their Discipline is not endured. *See a further account of them both in England and in other places, page 226.*

XI. Having spoke at large of the King's Sufferings, and the Persons that were his Executioners, he comes now to enquire by what Authority they acted. And he answers, By the same as a Highwayman, or a Ravisher, or any other enormous Malefactor acts. Then he proceeds to speak of the High Court of Justice, and shews the Illegality of it ; and how like Highway-Men they answered, when they told him, They were satisfied with their own Authority, and would have him so too. Next he descends to treat of the different Courts, and ways of Trial in several Nations, especially in *England* ; and concludes, that no Court could Convene and Try the King.

XII. In this last Chapter he examines what the King's Crimes and Demerits were, that he was thus treated. Here he proposes to sift his Actions both Publick and Private, as he was a Man, and as he was a King. First he shews in general, That a Man of great personal Faults and Vices, may be a good Governour. But for King *CHARLES*, his very Enemies and Murderers could say no less of him, but that he was a Good, Pious, Chaste, and Religious Prince. Next for his Actions, as he was a King ; his Judges indeed condemned him for a Tyrant, Traytor, and Murderer ; but they did not repute him so when they took the Covenant ; for in the third Article of it, they promise to defend the King's Person and Majesty. Their pretence then was only the Reformation of Religion. But they hated Kingly Government, and with them all Kings

C c c 2

were

were Tyrants. One of the heaviest Articles against the King was, That when he spoke of those who afterwards Condemned him and put him to Death, he did not call them *Saints*, but *Brownists*, *Seſtaries*, and *Independents*.

At Page 287. he compares the Rebellion in *England*, with the *Hollanders* casting off the Yoke of the *Spanish* Government, and proves them to be two very different Cases.

To this Defence an Answer was published by *John Milton* (which he styles, *An Apology for the People of England*) in as many Chapters: Written with a great deal of Satyr and Bitterness both against the King and *Salmasius*. In the first Chapter it deserves to be noted, That whereas *Salmasius* had said, *The Ministers were most unjustly persecuted for declaring their abhorrence of the King's Murder*; Milton characterizes those Ministers thus, viz. That they were such as had constantly taught, both in Preaching and Writing, That it was Peoples Duty to take Arms against the King; and cursed all, like *Meroz*, who did not bring Arms, Money, or Forces, to Fight against him, whom they represented in their Sermons to be a most wicked Tyrant, worse than *Saul* or *Ahab*, or even *Nero* himself. These Ministers rail'd at Pluralists and Non-Residents under the Episcopal Government, till they had got them turned out; and then they got their Rich Livings to themselves, two or three to a Man, and neglected their Flocks in a gross notorious manner, without any fear of GOD or shame of Men. In the second Chapter he heaps up all the Authorities he can from *Tully*, *Josephus*, and others, against Monarchy, and in favour of a Republick. In the third he endeavours to make the New Testament speak the same thing. In the fourth, he pleads for the Peoples Right to Curb, Resist, and Depose Wicked Princes. In the fifth he justifies this from the Law of Nature. In the sixth, he makes the Prince dependent on the People, and consequently Inferior to them. In the seventh, he asserts that he may be Judged. In the eighth, he prosecutes the same Argument, and applies it to the Case of the King of *England*. In the ninth, he magnifies the Parliaments Power above the King's. In the tenth, he speaks of the Numbers that oppos'd the King. In the eleventh, by what Authority they proceeded against him. In the twelfth, of the Crimes charged upon him.

*A* Shcam's Book ( which my Lord Clarendon here refers to, Vol. III. p. 369.) was Printed in the Year 1648. with this Title ;

*A Discourse wherein is examined what is particularly lawful during the Confusions and Revolutions of Government: or, How far a Man may lawfully conform to the Powers and Commands of those who with various Successes hold Kingdoms divided by Civil or Foreign Wars: Whether it be, 1. In paying Taxes. 2. In personal Service. 3. In taking Oaths. 4. In a Man's giving himself up to a final Allegiance, in case the War end to the advantage of the unjust Power or Party. Likewise whether the nature of War be inconsistent with the nature of the Christian Religion.* By Ant. Ashcam ( so his Name stands there ) Gentleman.

When he comes to discourse of what may lawfully be done, during the Confusions and Revolutions of Government, he says, *No Man is of such a captivated Allegiance, as, by reason of it, to engage himself to a Party, believing upon the Engagement, that he shall be certainly destroyed in it.* We read of those who a long time adored and kist a Goddess fastned to an Oak in a Grove: But when that Tree was ready to fall, noone would come within the shadow of her Statue.

Speaking of Property and Right, he asserts, That what is necessary for one Man's Natural Subsistence, and unnecessary for another, belongs justly to the first, unless he has merited to loose the Life which he seeks to preserve. All Admiralties judge this equal, that if Provisions begin to fail in a Ship at Sea, every one may be forced to bring out openly, what he laid in for his Passage in particular, that so all may be spent in common: By which distribution it may happen, that they who laid in ten times more than any one else, shall have but an equal share with the rest.

Tho' States punish those who out of meer Necessity take something out of anothers Plenty ; yet that proves not the Act to be a Sin, or repugnant to Equity or Conscience, but rather repugnant to convenience of State, lest thereby a Gap might be laid open to Libertinism. Having consider'd the Right which every Man hath to preserve himself, he proceeds to speak of the Parties, whether Just or Unjust, who by the variety of Success in War, may, one after another, command us and our Estates ; what is lawful for us to do in such a Case ?



To assure our Consciences of a justifiable Obedience during the Confusions or Revolutions of War, it is best (says he) and enough for us to consider, *Whether the invading Party (just or unjust) have us, or the means of our Subsistence in their Possession or no.* In such a case he determines, that we may, with a good Conscience, pay Taxes to Usurpers, even against the Command of the Lawful Magistrate; and serve them with our Persons, when they don't require us to act against the Lawful Magistrate.

Concerning the Oath of Allegiance he determines, That the Subject is absolved from it. 1. If his Prince abandon his Kingdom: For then, upon his own Act, he hath and will have no Right to it. 2. If he give away or subject his Kingdom to another Crown: For not the Alienation, but Government of the Kingdom is the Ground of the Oath. 3. If a Prince, thro' mad Fury or Folly, seek, in a hostile way, the Destruction of his whole Kingdom, then the Subject owes him nothing by Oath: For the Will of Governing and Destroying a Kingdom is inconsistent with itself. 4. If the Prince have one part of the Supreme Right, and the People the other part, then, notwithstanding an Oath of Allegiance to him, he may be opposed, if he invade the other part of Supreme Right.

*Quest.* Whether, upon the issue of a War, and the Expulsion of a Just Party, a Man may lawfully give himself up to the final Allegiance of the Unjust Party?

*Ans.* We are bound to own Princes so long as it pleases GOD to give them the Power to command us; and when we see others possess of their Powers, we may then say, that the King of Kings hath changed our Vice-Roys.

Upon Frontiers, all Men are most strictly obliged to the Destruction one of another, according to their several Allegiances, Yet it happens daily, that by Sieges, and other Extremities, Towns are reduced to the Jurisdiction of those to whom they were sworn not to submit, but to destroy. This is not all; for upon their Surrender, they must Swear to destroy those, whom, the Day before, they were Sworn to preserve. In such Cases the Prince, to whom they were first obliged, releases them of all imaginable Duty to him. For he cannot expect that which is impossible for them to do, *viz.* Acts of former Allegiance to him. If afterwards he takes any of them, he looks upon them, not as Traitors or Revolters, but such as, by the Law and necessity of War, are of the

the same condition with the rest of his Enemies Subjects. The Reasons which justify such particular Places, justify a more universal, such as are whole Kingdoms, which are made out of such particular places, and are subject to the same Fate and necessity of War, to the same Confusions and Revolutions of Governments, and so to the same opposite Allegiances.

*The manner of the Coronation of King Charles II  
at Scoone in Scotland, Jan. 1. 1649.*

First the King's Majesty, in a Princes Robe, was Page 397.  
conducted from his Bedchamber, by the Constable on his Right Hand, and the Marshal on his Left, to the Chamber of Presence; and there was placed in a Chair, under a Cloth of State, by the Lord of Angus Chamberlain, appointed by the King for that Day; and there, after a little Repose, the Noblemen, with the Commissioners of Barons and Burroughs, entred the Hall, and presented themselves before His Majesty.

Thereafter the Lord Chancellor spoke to the King, to this purpose: *Sir, your good Subjects desire you may be Crowned, as the Righteous and Lawful Heir of the Crown of this Kingdom; that you would maintain Religion, as it is presently professed and established: Also, that you would be graciously pleased to receive them under your Highness's Protection, to govern them by the Laws of the Kingdom, and to defend them in their Rights and Liberties, by your Royal Power; offering themselves, in most humble manner, to Your Majesty, with their Vows to bestow Land, Life, and what else is in their Power, for the maintenance of Religion, for the safety of Your Majesty's Sacred Person, and maintenance of your Crown; which they intreat Your Majesty to accept; and pray Almighty GOD, that for many Years you may happily enjoy the same.*

The King made this Answer: *I do esteem the Affections of my good People more than the Crowns of many Kingdoms, and shall be ready, by GOD's Assistance, to bestow my Life in their Defence; wishing to live no longer than I may see Religion and this Kingdom flourish in all Happiness.*

Thereafter the Commissioners of Burroughs and Barons, and the Noblemen accompanied His Majesty to the Kirk of *Scoone*, in order and rank according to their Quality, two and two. The Spurs being carried by the Earl of *Eglinton*; next the Sword, by the Earl of *Roths*; then the Scepter, by the Earl of *Crawford* and *Lindsey*; and the Crown, by the Marquis of *Argyle*, immediately before the King. Then came the King, with the Great Constable on the Right Hand, and the Great Marshal on his Left, his Train being carried by the Lord *Ereskine*, the Lord *Montgomery*, the Lord *Newbottle*, and the Lord *Machlelene*, Four Earls Eldest Sons, under a Canopy of Crimson-Velvet, supported by Six Earls Sons, to wit, the Lord *Drummond*, the Lord *Carnegie*, the Lord *Ramsay*, the Lord *Johnston*, the Lord *Brechin*, the Lord *Yester*; and the Six Carriers supported by Six Noblemens Sons. Thus the King's Majesty entered the Kirk.

The Kirk being fitted and prepared with a Table, whereupon the Honours were laid, and a Chair set in a fitting place for His Majesty to hear a Sermon, overagainst the Minister, and another Chair on the other side, where he received the Crown, before which there was a Bench decently covered, as also for Seats about for Noblemen, Barons and Burgessees; and there being also a Stage in a fit place erected of 24 Foot square, about 4 Foot high from the Ground, covered with Carpets, with two Stairs, one from the *West*, another to the *East*, upon which great Stage there was another little Stage erected, some two Foot high, ascending by two Steps; on which the Throne or Chair of State was set.

The Kirk thus fittingly prepared, the King's Majesty entered the same, accompanied as afore said; and first set himself in his Chair for hearing of Sermon, which was Preached by Mr. *Robert Douglas*, who earnestly pressed His Majesty to hold firm to the Covenant.



*The Trial of Mr. Gerard and Mr. Vowel.*

After twice or thrice convening of these Gentle- Page 491.  
men, an Accufation was brought of their  
intention to affaffinate the Proteftor, with one Major *Henshaw* and others that were fled. To the proof whereof they  
produced young Mr. *Charles Gerard* againft his Brother, as  
alfo one *Wiseman*, and one Mr. *Hudfon* a Blind Minister  
(whose Brother was that eminent Perfon who accompanied  
and guarded the late King in his Flight from *Oxford*) that  
had been cherished by Mr. *Vowel*, againft him; who yet re-  
tracted at his Examination, and could not be brought, by  
the Threats of the Court, to make it good; and yet they  
made it valid. *Somerset Fox* (one of the Accomplices)  
pleaded Guilty, and craved Mercy, as he had been intrufted  
to do, upon promife of Pardon, and thereby involved the o-  
ther two innocent Gentlemen in the Guilt. It availed them  
nothing to deny this Charge, though with never fo much  
Reason and Strength of Argument: *Lisle* the Prefident fum-  
med up the prejudiced Suffrages of the Court, and pronoun-  
ced Sentence of Death upon them.

*Clarendon, Vol. III. pag. 499.*

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Killing No Murder,  
Briefly Discours'd in Three Questions.

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By *William Allen*; but Writ by Colonel *Titus*:  
(tho' Lord *Clarendon* mentions such a thing  
to be Writ by Major *Wildman*.)

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*And all the People of the Land rejoiced: and the City was  
quiet, after that they had slain Athaliah with the Sword.*  
2 Chron. 23. 21.

*Now after the time that Amaziah did turn away from  
following of the Lord, they made a Conspiracy against  
him in Jerusalem, and he fled to Lachish: but they sent  
to Lachish after him, and slew him there.* 2 Chro. 25. 27.

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To His Highness

OLIVER CROMWELL.

*May it please Your Highness,*

HOW I have spent some Hours of the Leisure your High-  
ness hath been pleased to give me, this following Paper  
will give your Highness an account; how you will please to  
interpret it I cannot tell, but I can with Confidence say, my  
Inten-

Intention in it is, to procure your Highness that Justice no Body yet does you, and to let the People see the longer they defer it, the greater Injury they do both themselves and you. To your Highness justly belongs the Honour of Dying for the People, and it cannot chuse but be an unspeakable Consolation to you, in the last Moments of your Life, to consider with how much benefit to the World you are like to leave it. 'Tis then only (my Lord) the Titles you now usurp will be truly yours, you will then be indeed the Deliverer of your Country, and free it from a Bondage little inferior to that from which *Moses* delivered his: You will then be that True Reformer, which you would now be thought; Religion shall be then restored, Liberty asserted, and Parliaments have those Privileges they have fought for: We shall then hope, that other Laws will have place besides those of the Sword, and that Justice shall be otherwise defined than the Will and Pleasure of the Strongest; and we shall then hope that Men will keep Oaths again, and not have the necessity of being False and Perfidious to preserve themselves, and be like their Rulers. All this we hope from your Highness's happy Expiration, who are the true Father of your Country; for while you live, we can call nothing ours, and it is from your Death that we hope for our Inheritances. Let this Consideration arm and fortify your Highness's Mind against the Fears of Death, and the Terrors of your Evil Conscience, that the Good you will do by your Death, will somewhat ballance the Evils of your Life. And if in the black Catalogue of High Malefactors, few can be found that have lived more to the Affliction and Disturbance of Mankind than your Highness hath done; yet your greatest Enemies will not deny but there are likewise as few that have expired more to the universal Benefit of Mankind, than your Highness is like to do. To hasten this great Good is the chief End of my writing this Paper; and if it have the Effects I hope it will, your Highness will quickly be out of the reach of Mens Malice, and your Enemies will only be able to wound you in your Memory, which Strokes you will not feel. That your Highness may be speedily in this Security, is the universal Wishes of your grateful Country; this is the Desires and Prayers of the Good and of the Bad, and, it may be, is the only thing where, in all Sects and Factions do agree in their Devotions, and is our only common Prayer. But amongst all that put in their Requests and Supplications for your Highness's speedy deliverance



verance from all earthly Troubles, none is more assiduous nor more fervent than he, that with the rest of the Nation hath the Honour to be. (May it please your Highness)

*Your Highness's present Slave and Vassal,*

W. A.

To all those Officers and Soldiers of the Army, that remember their Engagements, and dare be honest.

**I** Heartily wish, for England's sake, that your Number may be far greater than I fear it is; and that His Highness's frequent Purgations may have left any amongst you, that by these Characters are concern'd in this Dedication. That I and all Men have reason to make this a doubt, your own Actions, as well as your tame Sufferings, do but too plainly manifest. For you that were the Champions of our Liberty, and to that purpose were raised, are not you become the Instruments of our Slavery? And your Hands that the People employed to take off the Yoke from off our Necks, are not those the very Hands that now do put it on? Do you remember that you were raised to defend the Privileges of Parliament, and have sworn to do it; and will you be employed to force Elections, and dissolve Parliaments, because they will not establish the Tyrant's Iniquity, and our Slavery by a Law? I beseech you, think upon what you have promised, and what you do, and give not Posterity, as well as your own Generation, the occasion to mention you with Infamy, and to curse that unfortunate Valour and Success of yours, that only hath gained Victories (as you use them) against the Commonwealth. Could ever England have thought to have seen that Army that was never mention'd without the Titles of Religious, Zealous, Faithful, Courageous, the Fence of her Liberty at home, the Terror of her Enemies abroad, become her Goalers? Not her Guard, but her Oppressors? Not her Soldiers, but a Tyrant's Executioners, drawing to Blocks and Gibbets all that dare be honest than themselves? This you do, and this you are; nor can you ever redeem your own Honour, the Trust and Love of your Country, the Estimation of brave Men, or the

*the Prayers of good, if you let not speedily the World see you have been deceived, which they will only then believe, when they see your Vengeance upon his faithless Head that did it: This if you defer too long to do, you will find too late to attempt, and your Repentance will neither vindicate you, nor help us. To let you see you may do this as a lawful Action, and to perswade you to it as a glorious one, is the principal Intent of this following Paper: Which whatever Effects it hath upon you, I shall not absolutely fail of my Ends; for if it excites not your Virtue and Courage, it will yet exprobrate your Cowardice and Baseness. This is from one that was once one amongst you, and will be so again when you dare be as you were.*

**I**T is not any Ambition to be in Print, when so few spare Paper and the Press, nor any Instigations of private Revenge or Malice (tho' few that dare be honest now want their causes) that have prevailed with me to make myself the Author of a Pamphlet, and to disturb that Quiet which at present I enjoy, by His Highness's great Favour and Injustice. Nor am I ignorant to how little purpose I shall employ that Time and Pains, which I shall bestow upon this Paper. For to think that any Reasons or Perswasions of mine, or Convictions of their own, shall draw Men from any thing wherein they see Profit or Security, or to any thing wherein they fear Loss, or see Danger, is to have a better Opinion both of myself and them, than either of us both deserve.

Besides, the Subject itself is of that nature, that I am not only to expect danger from ill Men, but censure and disallowance from many that are good; for these Opinions, only look'd upon, not look'd into, (which all have not Eyes for) will appear bloody and cruel; and these Compellations I must expect from those that have a Zeal, but not according to knowledge. If therefore I had considered my self, I had spared whatever this is of Pains, and not distasted so many, to please so few as are in Mankind (the honest and the wise.) But at such a time as this, when GOD is not only exercising us with a usual and common Calamity, of letting us fall into Slavery that used our Liberty so ill; but is pleased so far to blind our Understandings, and to debase our Spirits, as to suffer us to court our Bondage, and to place it amongst the Requests we put up to him; Indignation makes a Man  
break

break that Silence that Prudence would perswade him to use; if not to work upon other Men's Minds, yet to ease his own. A late Pamphlet tells us of a great Design discovered against the Person of his Highness, and of the Parliaments coming (for so does that Junto prophane that Name) to congratulate with his Highness, his happy Deliverance from that wicked and bloody Attempt. Besides this, that they have ordered that GOD Almighty shall be mock'd with a Day of Thanksgiving (as I think the World is with the Plot) and that the People shall give publick Thanks for the publick Calamity, that GOD is yet pleased to continue his Judgments upon them, and to frustrate all means that are used for their Deliverance. Certainly none will now deny that the *English* are a very thankful People. But I think if we had read in Scripture that the *Israelites* had cried unto the Lord, not for their own Deliverance, but the preservation of their Task-Masters, and that they had thanked GOD with Solemnity that *Pharaoh* was yet living, and that there was still great hopes of the daily encrease of the number of their Bricks: Tho' that People did so many things, not only impiously and prophanely, but ridiculously and absurdly; yet certainly they did nothing we should more have wondered at, than to have found them ceremoniously thankful to GOD for Plagues, that were commonly so brutishly unthankful for Mercies; and we should have thought that *Moses* had done them a great deal of wrong, if he had not suffered them to enjoy their Slavery, and left them to their Talks and Garlick.

I can with Justice say, my principal Intention in this Paper is not to declaim against my Lord *Protector* or his Accompllices; for were it not more to justify others than to accuse them, I should think their own Actions did that work sufficiently, and I should not take pains to tell the World what they knew before; my design is, to examine whether, if there hath been such a Plot as we hear of, and that it was contrived by Mr. *Sindercombe* against my Lord *Protector*, and not by my Lord *Protector* against Mr. *Sindercombe* (which is doubtful) whether it deserves those Epithets Mr. *Speaker* is pleased to give it, of Bloody, Wicked, and proceeding from the Prince of Darkness. I know very well how incapable the Vulgar are of considering what is extraordinary and singular in every case, and that they judge of things, and name them by their exterior appearances, without Penetrating



ing at all into their Causes or Natures : And without doubt when they hear the *Protector* was to be killed, they strait conclude a Man was to be murdered, not a Malefactor punished : For they think the Formalities do always make the things themselves, and that 'tis the Judge and the Crier that makes the Justice, and the Goal the Criminal. And therefore when they read in the Pamphlet Mr. *Speaker's* Speech, they certainly think he gives these Plotters their right Titles ; and, as readily as a High Court of Justice, they condemn them without ever examining whether they would have killed a Magistrate, or destroyed a Tyrant, over whom every Man is naturally a Judge and an Executioner, and whom the Laws of GOD, of Nature, and of Nations expose, like Beasts of Prey, to be destroyed as they are met.

That I may be as plain as I can, I shall first make it a question (which indeed is none) whether my Lord *Protector* be a Tyrant or not? Secondly, If he be, Whether it is lawful to do Justice upon him without Solemnity, that is, *to kill him*? Thirdly, If it be lawful, Whether it is likely to prove profitable or noxious to the Commonwealth?

*Quest. I.* The Civil Law makes Tyrants of two sorts; *Tyrannus sine Titulo*, and *Tyrannus Exercitio* : The one is called a Tyrant because he hath no Right to govern; the other because he governs Tyrannically. We will briefly discourse of them both, and see whether the *Protector* may not with great Justice put in his Claim to both Titles.

We shall sufficiently demonstrate who they are that have not a Right to Govern, if we shew who they are that have; and what it is that makes the Power just, which those that Rule, have over the natural Liberty of other Men. To Fathers, within their private Families, Nature hath given a Supreme Power : *Every Man*, says *Aristotle* \*, of *Right governs his Wife and Children* : And this Power was necessarily exercised † every where, whilst Families lived dispersed, ‡ before the Constitutions of Commonwealths; and in many places it continued after, as appears by the Laws of *Solon*, and the most ancient of those of *Rome*. And indeed, as by the Laws of GOD || and Nature, the Care, Defence, and Support of the Family lies upon every Man whose it is; so by the same Law, there is due unto every Man from his

\* *Pol. l. i. c. i.*

† *Gen. 34. 24.*

‡ *Arist. ibid.*

|| *1 Tim. 5. 8.*

Family, a Subjection and Obedience, in compensation of that Support. But several Families uniting themselves together, to make up one Body of a Commonwealth, and being independent one of another, without any natural Superiority or Obligation, nothing can introduce amongst them a disparity of Rule and Subjection, but some Power that is over them, which Power none can pretend to have but GOD and themselves: Wherefore all Power which is lawfully exercised over such a Society of Men ||| (which, from the end of its Institution, we call a Commonwealth) must necessarily be derived either from the appointment of GOD Almighty, who is Supreme Lord of all and every part, or from the consent of the Society itself, who have the next Power to his, of disposing of their own Liberty, as they shall think fit for their own good. This Power GOD hath given to Societies of Men, as well as he gave it to particular \* Persons, and when he interposes not his own Authority, and appoints not himself who shall be his Vicegerents, and Rule under him, He leaves it to none but the People themselves to make the Election, whose Benefit is the End of all Government. Nay, when He Himself hath been pleased to appoint Rulers for that People, which He was pleased peculiarly to own; He many times made the Choice, but left the Confirmation and Ratification of that Choice to the People themselves. So *Saul* † was chosen by GOD, and anointed King by his Prophet, but made King by all the People at *Gilgal* ‡. *David* was anointed King || by the same Prophet; but was afterwards, after *Saul's* Death, confirmed by the People of *Juda* †, and seven Years after by the Elders of ‡‡ *Israel*, the Peoples Deputies, at *Chebron*: And it is observable, that tho' they knew that *David* was appointed King by GOD, and anointed by his Prophet, yet they likewise knew that GOD allowed to themselves not only his Confirmation, but likewise the Limitation of his Power; for before his Inauguration they made a League .: with him; that is, obliged him by Compact to the performance of such Conditions as they thought necessary for the securing their Liberty. Nor is it less remarkable, that when GOD gives Directions to his People concerning their Government, he plainly leaves the

||| *Vid. Hooker Eccles. Pol. l. 1. c. 10.*

† 1 *Sam. 10. 1.*

‡ 1 *Sam. 12. 2.*

\* *Exod. 21. 5.*

|| 1 *Sam. 16. 14.*

‡ 2 *Sam. 2. 4.*

‡‡ 2 *Sam. 5. 3.*

.: *Ibid.*

Form to themselves : For he says not, when thou shalt have come into the Land which the Lord thy GOD gives thee; *Statues super te Regem*; but, *Si || dixeris statuam*. GOD says not, Thou shalt appoint a King over thee : But, if thou shalt say, I will appoint, leaving it to their choice, whether they would say so or no. And it is plain in that place, that GOD gives the People the choice of their King, for he there instructs them whom they shall choose, *E medio fratrum tuorum*, one out of the midst of thy Brethren ; much more might we say, if it were a less manifest Truth, that all just Power of Government is founded upon these two Bases, of GOD's immediate Command, or the People's Consent. And therefore, whosoever arrogates to himself that Power, or any part of it, that cannot produce one of those two Titles, is not a Ruler, but an Invader ; and those that are subject to that Power, are not govern'd, but oppress'd.

This being considered, have not the People of *England* much reason to ask the *Protector* this Question ; *Quis constituit te virum principem & judicem super nos* ? Who made thee a Prince and a Judge over us ? If GOD made thee, make it manifest to us : If the People, Where did we meet to do it ? Who took our Subscriptions ? To whom deputed we our Authority ? And when and where did those Deputies make the Choice ? Sure these Interrogations are very natural, and, I believe, would much trouble His Highness's Council, and His Junto to answer. In a word, That I may not tire my Reader (who will not want Poros for what I say, if he wants not Memory) If to change the Government without the Peoples Consent : If to dissolve their Representatives by force, and disannul their Acts : If to give the Name of the Peoples Representatives to Confederates of his own, that he may *establish Iniquity by a Law* : If to take away Mens Lives out of all course of Law, by certain Murderers of his own appointment, whom he names, *A High Court of Justice* : If to decimate Mens Estates, and by his own Power to impose upon the People what Taxes he pleases ; and to maintain all this by force of Arms : If, I say, all this does ; make a Tyrant, his own Impudence cannot deny but he is as compleat a one as ever hath been since there have been Societies of Men. He that hath done, and does all this, is the Person for whose preservation the People of *England* must



pray; but certainly if they do, 'tis for the same reason that the Old Woman of *Syracuse* prayed for the long Life of the Tyrant *Dionysius*, lest the Devil should come next.

Now, if instead of GOD's Command, or the Peoples Consent, His Highness hath no other Title but Force and Fraud, which is to want all Title: And if to violate all Laws, and propose none to Rule by, but those of his own Will, be to exercise that Tyranny he hath usurp'd, and to make his Administration conformable to his Claim; then the first Question we proposed is a Question no longer.

But before we come to the second, being things are more easily perceived and found by the description of their *exterior Accidents and Qualities*, than the defining their Essences: It will not be amiss to see, whether His Highness hath not as well the outward Marks and Characters by which Tyrants are known, as he hath their *Nature and Essential Properties*: Whether he hath not the Skin of the Lion and Tail of the Fox, as well as he hath the Violence of the one and Deceit of the other. Now in this Delineation which I intend to make of a Tyrant, all the Lineaments, all the Colours will be found so naturally to correspond with the Life, that it cannot but be doubted, whether His Highness be the Original or the Copy; whether I have, in drawing the Tyrant, represented him; or in representing him express a Tyrant: And therefore, lest I should be suspected to deal un sincerely with His Highness, and not to have applied these following Characters, but made them, I shall not give you any of my own stamping, but such as I find in *Plato, Aristotle, Tacitus*, and His Highness's own Evangelist, *Machiavel*.

*The Marks  
of a Tyrant.*

*Arist. Pol.*

*l. 5. c. 10.*

*Vid. Mach.*

*Discor. lib.*

*1. cap. 40.*

I. Almost all Tyrants have been first Captains and Generals for the People, under pretences of vindicating or defending their Liberties. *Ut imperium evertant, Libertatem præferunt; cum perverterunt, ipsam aggrediuntur*, says *Tacitus*\*; To subvert the present Government, they pretend Liberty for the People: When the Government is down, they then invade that Liberty themselves. This needs no Application.

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\* An. lib. 1. Idem alibi: *caterum libertas & speciosa nomina prætexuntur, nec quisquam alienum servitium, & Dominationem sibi concupiscit, ut non eadem ista vocabula usurparet.*

2. Tyrants accomplish their Ends much more by Fraud than Force. Neither Virtue nor Force (says *Machiavel* †) are so necessary to that purpose, as *una Astutia fortunata*, a lucky Craft, which, says he, \* without Force, has been often found sufficient, but never Force without that. And in another place || he tells us, their way is *Aggirare l'cervelli de gli huomini con Astutia*, &c. With cunning plausible Pretences to impose upon Mens Understandings, and in the end they master those that had so little Wit as to rely upon their Faith and Integrity.

'Tis but unnecessary to say, that had not His Highness had a faculty to be fluent in his Tears, and eloquent in his Execrations: Had he not had spongy Eyes; and a supple Conscience; and besides to do with a People of great Faith, but little Wit: His Courage and the rest of his Moral Virtues, with the help of his Janizaries, had never been able so far to advance him out of the reach of Justice, that we should have need to call for any other hand to remove him, but that of the Hangman.

3. They abase all excellent Persons, and rid out of the way all that have Noble Minds. *Et terræ filios extollunt*; and advance Sons of the Earth.

To put *Aristotle* ‡ into other words, They purge both Parliament and Army, till they leave few or none there, that have either Honour or Conscience, either Wit, Interest, or Courage to oppose their Designs. And in these Purgations (saith *Plato* †) Tyrants do quite contrary to Physicians; for they purge us of our Humours, but Tyrants of our Spirits.

4. They dare suffer no Assemblies, not so much as Horse-Races.

5. In all places they have their Spies and Delators, that is, they have their *Fleetwoods*, their *Broughals*, their *St. Johns*, (besides innumerable small Spies) to appear discontented and not to side with them; that under that disguise they may get Trust, and make Discoveries. They likewise have their Emissaries to send with forged Letters. If any doubt this, let him send to Major-General *Brown*, and he will satisfy him.

*Mach. Discor. lib. 2. cap. 13.*

† *Il. princ. c. 9.*

\* *Disc. lib. 2. c. 13.* || *Princ. c. 18.*

‡ *Arist. Pol. l. 5. c. 11.*

‡ *Plato de Rep. lib. 8. ibid.*

6. They stir not without a Guard ; nor His Highness without his Life-guard.

7. They impoverish the People, that they may want the Power, if they have the Will to attempt any thing against them. His Highness's Way is by Taxes, Excise, Decimations, &c.

8. They make War to divert and busy the People \* : and besides, to have a pretence to raise Moneys and to make new Levies, if they either distrust their old Forces, or think them not sufficient. The War with *Spain* serveth His Highness to this purpose ; and upon no other Justice was it begun at first, or is still continued.

9. They will seem to honour and provide for Good Men ; that is, If the Ministers will be Orthodox and Flatter ; if they will wrest and torture the Scripture to prove his Government lawful, and furnish him with Title, His Highness will likewise be then content to understand Scripture in their favour, and furnish them with Titles.

10. Things that are odious and distasteful † they make others Executioners of ; and when the People are discontented, they appease them with sacrificing those Ministers they employ. I leave it to His Highness's Major-Generals to ruminate a little upon this Point.

11. In all things they pretend to be wonderful careful of the Publick ; to give general Accompts of the Money they receive, which they pretend to be levied for the maintenance of the State, and the prosecuting of the War. His Highness made an excellent Comment upon this place of *Aristotle* ‡, in his Speech to this Parliament.

12. All things set aside for Religious Uses they set to Sale ; that while those things last they may exact the less of the People. The Cavaliers would interpret this of the Dean and Chapters Lands.

13. They pretend Inspirations from God, and Responses from Oracles to authorize what they do ; His Highness hath ever been an Enthusiast. And as || *Hugh Capet*, in taking the

\* *Arist. ibid. Arist. ibid. Id. ib. & Plato de Rep. lib. 9. Id. ib.*

† *Machiav. Pr. cap. 19. Machiavel adds, And do grateful things themselves. But that I omit ; for I really am unprovided of an Instance for His Highness, for I have not yet heard of any good he hath done himself. ‡ Arist. ibid. Plato de Rep. lib. 8. Id. & Plut. passim.*

|| *Hist. of Franc. Ibid. lib. 5. c. 11.*



Crown, pretended to be admonish'd to it in a Dream by St. *Valery* and St. *Richard*; so I believe will His Highness do the same, at the Instigation of S. *Henry* and S. *Richard*, his two Sons.

14. Lastly, above all things they pretend a Love to GOD and Religion. This *Aristotle* calls *Artis Tyrannicariæ potissimam*; the surest and best of all the Arts of Tyrants; and we all know His Highness hath found it so by experience. He hath found indeed, that in Godliness there is great Gain; and that Preaching and Praying, well managed, will obtain other Kingdoms as well as that of Heaven. His indeed have been Pious Arms, for he hath conquered most by those of the Church, by Prayers and † Tears. But the truth is, were it not for our Honour to be governed by one that can manage both the Spiritual and Temporal Sword, and, *Roman* like, to have our Emperor our High Priest, we might have had Preaching at a much cheaper rate, and it would have cost us but our Tythes, which now costs us all.

Othe Marks and Rules there are mentioned by *Aristotle* to know Tyrants by; but they being unsuitable to His Highness's Actions, and impracticable by his Temper, I insist not on them. As among other things ‡ *Aristotle* would not have a Tyrant insolent in his Behaviour, nor strike People. But His Highness is naturally Cholerick, and must call Men Rogues, and go to Cuffs. At last he concludes, He should so fashion his Manners, as neither to be really good, nor absolutely bad, but half one, half t'other. Now this half good is too great a proportion for His Highness, and much more than his Temper will bear.

But to speak Truths more seriously, and to conclude this first Question. Certainly whatever these Characters make any Man, it cannot be denied but His Highness is; and then if he be not a Tyrant, we must confess we have no definition nor description of a Tyrant left us, and may well imagine there is no such thing in nature, and that 'tis only a Notion and a Name. But if there be such a Beast, and we do at all believe what we see and feel, let us now enquire, according to the Method we proposed, whether this be a Beast of Game that we are to give Law to, or a Beast of Prey to destroy with all means that are allowable and fair?

† *Preces & lacrymae sunt arma Ecclesiae.*

‡ *Pol. l. 5. c. 11.*

Whether it  
be lawful  
to kill a  
Tyrant?

In deciding this Question Authors very much differ, as far as it concerns supreme Magistrates, who degenerate into Tyrants. Some think they are to be born with as bad \* Parents, and place them in the number of those Mischiefs † that have no other Cure but our Patience: others think they may be questioned by that supreme Law of the Peoples Safety, and that they are answerable to the Peoples Representatives for the breach of their Trust. But none, of sober sense, make private Persons Judges of their Actions; which were indeed to subvert all Government. But, on the other side, I find none, that have not been frightened or corrupted out of their Reason, that have been so great Enemies to common Justice and the Liberty of Mankind, as to give any kind of Indemnity to a Usurper, who can pretend no Title but that of being stronger, nor challenge the Peoples Obedience upon any other Obligation but that of their Necessity and Fear. Such a Person, as one out of all bounds of humane Protection, all Men make the *Ishmael*, ‡ against whom is every Man's Hand, as his is against every Man. To him they give no more security, than *Cain*, his Fellow-murderer and Oppressor, promised to himself, to be destroyed by him that found him first.

The reason why a Tyrant's Case is particular, and why, in that, every Man hath that Vengeance given him, which, in other cases, is reserved to GOD and the Magistrate, cannot be obscure, if we rightly consider what a Tyrant is, what his Crimes are, and in what State he stands with the Commonwealth, and with every Member of it. And certainly, if we find him an Enemy to all humane Society, and a Subverter of all Laws, and one that, by the greatness of his Villanies, secures himself against all ordinary course of Justice; we shall not at all think it strange, if then he have no benefit from humane Society, no protection from the Law, and if, in his case, Justice dispenses with her Forms. We are therefore to consider that the end for which Men enter into Society, is not barely to live, which they may do dispersed, as other Animals; but to live happily, and a Life answerable to the Dignity and Excellency of their kind. Out of Society this Happiness is not to be had; for singly we are impotent and

\* *Ames Parentem si equus est; si non, feras.*  
† *Gen. 16. 12.*

‡ *Sicut sterilitatem, aut nimios imbres, &c. Tacit.*  
defective,

defective, unable to procure those things that are either of necessity or ornament for our Lives ; and as unable to defend and keep them when they are acquired. To remedy these Defects, we associate together, that what we can neither enjoy nor keep singly, by mutual benefits and assistances one of another, we may be able to do both. We cannot possibly accomplish these Ends if we submit not our Passions and Appetites to the Laws of Reason and Justice : For the Depravity of Man's Will makes him as unfit to live in Society, as his necessity makes him unable to live out of it ; and if that Perverseness be not regulated by Laws, Men's Appetites to the same things, their Avarice, their Lust, their Ambition would quickly make Society as unsafe, or more, than Solitude itself, and we should associate only to be nearer our Misery and our Ruine. That, therefore, by which we accomplish the Ends of a sociable Life, is our subjection and submission to Laws ; these are the Nerves and Sinews of every Society or Commonwealth, without which they must necessarily dissolve and fall asunder. And indeed (as *Augustine* says) those Societies where Law and Justice is not, are not Commonwealths or Kingdoms, but *Magna Latrocinia*, Great Confederacies of Thieves and Robbers : those therefore that submit to no Law, are not to be reputed in the Society of Mankind, which cannot consist without a Law : therefore *Aristotle* \* saith, Tyranny is against the Law of Nature, that is, the Law of humane Society, in which Humane Nature is preserved. For this reason they deny a Tyrant to be *Partem Civitatis*, for every Part is subject to the Whole ; and a Citizen (says the same Author) † is he who is as well obliged to the Duty of Obeying, as he is capable of the Power of commanding : and indeed he does Obey whilst he does Command ; that is, he obeys the Laws, which (says *Tully*) *Magistratibus præsumt, ut Magistratus præsumt populo*, are above the Magistrates, as the Magistrates are above the People. And therefore a Tyrant that submits to no Law, but his Will and Lust are the Law by which he governs himself and others, is no Magistrate, no Citizen or Member of any Society, but an Ulcer and Disease that destroys it ; and if it be rightly considered, a Commonwealth, by falling into a Tyranny, absolutely loses that Name, and is actually another thing : *Non est civitas quæ unius est viri*, (says *So-*

|| De Civit. Dei.

\* Pol. lib. 3. c. 12.

† Lib. 3. c. 8.



*phocles*) That which is one Man's is no City. For there is no longer King and People, or Parliament and People, but those Names are changed (at least their Natures) into Masters and Servants, Lord and Slaves; and *Servorum non Civitas erit sed magna Familia* (says *Grotius*) \* Where all are Slaves, 'tis not a City but a great Family: And the truth is, we are all Members of *White-hall*, and when our Master pleaseth, he may send for us thither, and there bore thro' our Ears at the Door-posts. But to conclude, a Tyrant, as we have said, being no part of a Commonwealth, nor submitting to the Laws of it, but making himself above all Law, there is no reason he should have the Protection that is due to a Member of a Commonwealth, nor any defence from Laws, that does acknowledge none. He is therefore, in all reason to be reckoned in the number of those savage Beasts, that fall not with others into any Herd, that have no other Defence but their own Strength, making a Prey of all that's weaker, and, by the same Justice, being a Prey to all that's stronger than themselves.

In the next place, let it be considered, that a Tyrant making himself above all Law, and defending his Injustice by a Strength which no Power of Magistrates is able to oppose, he becomes above all Punishment, above all other justice than that he receives from the Stroke of some generous Hand: And certainly the Safety of Mankind were but ill provided for, if there were no kind of Justice to reach great Villanies, but Tyrants should be *Immanitate Scelerum tuti*, secured by the greatness of their Crimes. Our Laws would be then but Cobwebs indeed, made only to catch Flies, but not to hold Wasps or Hornets; and it might be then said of all Commonwealths, what was said of *Athens*, That there only small Thieves were hanged, but the great ones were free, and condemned the rest. But he that will secure himself of all hands, must know he secures himself from none: He that flies Justice in the Court, must expect to find it in the Street, and he that goes armed against every Man, arms every Man against himself. *Bellum est in eos, qui judicii coerceri non possunt*, (says *Cicero*) We have War with those against whom we can have no Law. The same Author, *Cum duo sint decertandi genera*, &c. There being two ways of deciding dif-

\* *De jur. bel. l. 3. c. 8.*

ferences, the one by Judgment and Arbitration, the other by Force; the one proper to Men, the other to Beasts; we must have recourse to the latter when the former cannot be obtained. And certainly, by the Law of Nature, \* *ubi cessat judicium*, when no Justice can be had, every Man may be his own Magistrate, and do Justice for himself; for the Law (says Grotius†) that forbids me to pursue my right but by a Course of Law, certainly supposes, *Ubi copia est Judicii*, where Law and Justice is to be had; otherwise, that Law were a defence for Injuries, not one against them; and quite contrary to the Nature of all Laws, would become the Protection of the Guilty against the Innocent, not of the Innocent against the Guilty‡. Now as it is contrary to the Laws of GOD and Nature, that Men, who are partial to themselves, and therefore unjust to others, should be their own Judges, where others are to be had; so is it as contrary to the Law of Nature, and the common safety of Mankind, that when the Law can have no place, Men should be forbidden to repel Force by Force, and so be left without all defence and remedy against Injuries. GOD himself left not the Slave without remedy against the cruel Master: And what Analogy can that hold with reason, that the Slave, that is but his Master's Money, and but part of his Household-stuff, should find redress against the Injuries and Insolencies of an Imperious Master; and a free People, who have no Superior but their GOD, should have none at all against the Injustice and Oppression of a barbarous Tyrant? And were not the Incongruity full as great, that the Law of GOD permitted every Man to Kill a Thief, if he took him breaking open his House in the Night; because then it might be supposed he could not bring him to Justice: But a Tyrant that is the common Robber of Mankind, and whom no Law can take hold on, his Person should be, *Sacrosanct, cui nihil Sacrum aut Sanctum*, to whom nothing is sacred, nothing inviolable? But the Vulgar judge ridiculously, like themselves: The Glister of things dazzles their Eyes, and they judge of them by their Appearances, and the Colours that are put on them. For what can be more absurd in Nature, and contrary to all common Sense, than to call him Thief, and kill him, that comes alone, or with a few, to rob me; and to call him Lord Protector, and

\* Grot. de jur. Bel. l. 1. c. 8.

† *ibid.*

‡ Dent. 17.  
obey

obey him, that robs me with Regiments and Troops? As if to rove with two or three Ships were to be a Pirate, but with fifty, an Admiral. But if it be the number of Adherents only, not the Cause, that makes the difference between a Robber and a Protector: I wish that number were defined, that we might know where the Thief ends, and the Prince begins; and be able to distinguish between a Robbery and a Tax. But sure no *English-man* can be ignorant, that it is his Birthright to be master of his own Estate, and that none can command any part of it but by his own Grant and Consent, either made expressly by himself, or virtually by a Parliament. All other ways are meer Robberies, in other names: *Auferre, Trucidare, Rapere falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*; To Rob, to Extort, to Murder Tyrants falsely call'd to Govern, and to make Desolation, they call to settle Peace. In every Assessment we are Robb'd; the Excise is Robbery; the Customs Robbery; and without doubt, whenever 'tis Prudent, 'tis always Lawful to Kill the Thieves, whom we can bring to no other Justice: And not only Lawful, and to do ourselves Right, but Glorious, and to deserve of Mankind, to free the World of that common Robber, that universal Pirate, under whom, and for whom, the lesser Beasts prey †. This Firebrand I would have any way extinguish'd; this Ulcer I would have any Hand to lance: And I cannot doubt but GOD will suddenly sanctify some Hand to do it, and bring down that bloody and deceitful Man, who lives not only to the Misery, but the Infamy of our Nation.

I should have reason to be much less confident of the Justice of this Opinion, if it were new, and only grounded upon Collections and Interpretations of my own. But herein if I am deceived, I shall however have the Excuse to have been drawn into that Error, by the Examples that are left us by the greatest and most virtuous, and the Opinions of the wisest and gravest Men, that have left their Memories to Posterity. Out of the great plenty of Confirmations I could bring for this Opinion, from Examples and Authorities, I shall select a very few; for manifest Truths have not need of those Supports; and I have as little mind to tire my self as my Reader.

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† *Taciti in Vitâ. Agric.*



First therefore, A Usurper, that by only Force possesseth himself of Government, and by Force only keeps it, is yet in the State of War, with every Man, says the learned *Grotius*\*: And therefore every thing is lawful against him, that is lawful against an open Enemy, whom every private Man hath a right to kill. *Hostis hostem occidere volui*, says *Scævola* || to *Porfena*, when he was taken, after he had failed in his attempt to kill him; I am an Enemy, and an Enemy I would have killed; which every Man hath a right to do.

*Contra publicas hostes, & Majestatis reos, omnis homo miles est*, (says *Tertullian*) Against common Enemies, and those that are Traitors to the Common-wealth, every Man is a Soldier: This Opinion the most celebrated Nations have approved both by their Laws and Practices. The *Grecians*, (as *Xenophon* tells us) who suffered not Murderers to come into their Temples, in those very Temples they erected Statues to those that killed Tyrants, thinking it fit to place their Deliverers amongst their Gods. *Cicero* was an Eye-witness of the Honours that were done such Men, *Græci homines, &c.*† The *Greeks* (saith he) attribute the Honours of the Gods to those that killed Tyrants: What have I seen in *Athens* and other Cities of *Greece*! What Religion paid to such Men! What Songs! What Elogies! By which they are consecrated to Immortality, and almost deifi'd! In *Athens*, by *Solon's* Law‡, Death was not only decreed for the Tyrant that oppress'd the State, but for all those that took any Charge,\* or did bear any Office while the Tyranny remained. And *Plato* tells us the ordinary course they took with Tyrants in *Greece*‡. If (says he) the Tyrant cannot be expuls'd by accusing him to the Citizens, then by secret Practices they dispatch him.

Amongst the *Romans* the *Valerian* Law was, *si quis injussu populi, &c.* Whosoever took Magistracy upon him, without the Command of the People, it was lawful for any Man to kill him. *Plutarch* makes this Law more severe, *Ut injudicatum occidere eum liceret, qui dominatum concupisceret*, That it was lawful by that Law, before any Judgment past, to kill him that but aspired to Tyranny. Likewise the *Consular* Law which was made after the suppression of the

\* *De jure Bel. lib. 1. c. 4.* || *Luc. lib. 2.* † *Pro Milone.* ‡ *Plut. in Solon.*

\*\* Let His Highness's Junto mark this. † *De Republ. l. 8. In Public.*

Tyranny of the Decemvirate, made it lawful to kill any Man that went about to create Magistrates, *sine Provocatione &c.* without Reference and Appeal to the People. By these Laws, and innumerable Testimonies of Authors, it appears, that the *Romans*, with the rest of their Philosophy, had learned from the *Grecians*, what was the natural Remedy against a Tyrant: Nor did they honour these less that durst apply it. Who, as *Polybius* says\*, (speaking of Conspiracies against Tyrants) were not *Deterrimi Civium*, sed *Generosissimi quique, & maximi Animi*; not the worst and meanest of the Citizens, but the most Generous, and those of greatest Virtue: So were most of those that conspired against *Julius Cæsar*; he himself thought *Brutus* worthy to succeed him in the Empire of the World. And *Cicero* who had the Title of *Pater Patriæ*; if he were not conscious of the Design, yet he at least affected the Honour of being thought so: *Quæ enim res unquam, &c.* What Act (says he) † *O Jupiter*, more glorious! More worthy of Eternal Memory, hath been done, not only in this City, but in the whole World! In this Design, as the *Trojan Horse*, I willingly suffer myself to be included with the Princes. In the same place he tells us what all Vertuous *Romans* thought of the Fact as well as he: *Omnes boni, quantum in ipsis fuit, Cæsarem occiderunt: aliis consilium, aliis animus, aliis occasio defuit, voluntas nemini*: All good Men (saith he) as much as lay in them, killed *Cæsar*: some wanted Capacity; some Courage; others Opportunity; but none the Will to do it. But yet we have not declared the extent of their Severity against a Tyrant: They exposed him to Fraud, as well as Force, and left him no Security in Oaths and Compacts; that neither Law nor Religion might defend him that violated both. *Cum Tyranno Romanis nulla fides, nulla jurisjurandi Religio*, saith *Brutus* in *Appian* ‡; with a Tyrant the *Romans* think no Faith to be kept, observe no Religion of an Oath; *Seneca* gives the Reason, *Quia quicquid erat, quo mihi cohæreret, &c.* For whatever there was of mutual Obligation betwixt us, his destroying the Laws of humane Society hath dissolved; so these that thought that there was *in hostem nefas* that a Villany might be committed against an Enemy; these

\* *Hist. lib. 6.*† *Philip. 2.*‡ *Appian. lib. 7. De Benef.*

that profess'd, *Non minus julte quam fortiter arma gerere* to manage their Arms with Justice as well as Courage: these that thought Faith was to be kept even with the Perfidious; \* yet they thought a Tyrant would receive no Injustice, but to be let live; and that the most lawful way to destroy him was the readiest, no matter whether by Force or Fraud; for against Beasts of Prey Men use the Toyle and the Net, as well as the Spear and the Lance. But so great was their detestation of a Tyrant, that it made some take their Opinions from their Passions, and vent things which they could but ill justify to their Morality; they thought a Tyrant had so absolutely forfeited all Title to humanity, and all kind of Protection they could give him or his, that they left his Wife without any other Guard for her Chastity but Age and Deformity; and thought it not Adultery what was committed with her. Many more Testimonies might I bring; for 'tis harder to make choice than to find plenty. But I shall conclude with Authorities that are much more authentick, and Examples we may much more safely imitate.

The Law of GOD itself decreed certain † Death to that Man that would do presumptuously, and submit to no decision of Justice. Who can read this and think a Tyrant ought to live? But certainly, neither that nor any other Law were to any effect, if there were no way to put it in execution. But in a Tyrant's Case, Process and Citation have no place, and if we will only have formal Remedies against him, we are sure to have none. There's small hopes of Justice where the Malefactor hath Power to condemn the Judge.

All remedy therefore against a Tyrant is *Ehud's* Dagger, without which all our Laws were fruitless, and we helpless. This is that High Court of Justice where *Moses* brought the *Egyptian*; whither *Ehud* brought *Eglon*; *Sampson* the *Philistines*; *Samuel Agag*; and *Jehoida* the She-Tyrant *Athaliah*.

Let us a little consider in particular these several Examples, and see whether they may be proportioned to our purpose.

First, As to the Case of *Moses* and the *Egyptian*: Certainly every Englishman hath as much Call as *Moses*, and

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\* *Regulus qui longum semper fama, &c. Senec. in Exerc. 4. 7. Mich. Ephes. ad 5. Nich.*

† *Utique morietur vir ille, Deut. 17. 12.*



more cause than he, to slay this *Egyptian* †, that is always laying on Burthens, and always siniting both our brethren and ourselves: For as to his Call, he had no other that we read of, but the necessity his Brother stood in of his help. He looked on his Brethrens Burthens, and seeing an *Egyptian* siniting an *Hebrew*, knowing he was out of the reach of all other kind of Justice, he slew him. Certainly this was and is as lawful for any Man to do as it was for *Moses*, who was then but a private Man, and had no Authority for what he did, but what the Law of nature gives every Man; to oppose Force to Force, and to make Justice where he finds none. As to the Cause of that Action, we have much more to say than *Moses* had; he saw one *Hebrew* sinitten, we many *Englishmen* murder'd; he saw his Brethrens Burdens and their Blows; we our Burdens, Imprisonments, and Deaths. Now sure, if it were lawful for *Moses* to kill that *Egyptian* that oppress'd one Man, being there was no way to procure an ordinary course of Justice against him; it cannot be but absurd to think it unlawful to kill him † that oppresses a whole Nation, and one that Justice as little reaches as it defends.

The Example of *Ehud* shews us the natural and almost the only remedy against a Tyrant, and the way to free an oppress'd People from the slavery of an insulting *Moabite*: 'Tis done by Prayers and Tears, with the help of a Dagger, by \*crying to the Lord, and the left hand of an *Ehud*. Devotion and Action go well together; for, believe it, a Tyrant is not of that kind of Devil that is to be cast out by only Fasting and Prayer: And here the Scripture|| tells us what the Lord thought a fit message to send a Tyrant from himself; a Dagger of a Cubit in his Belly: And every worthy Man that desires to be an *Ehud*, a Deliverer of his Country, will strive to be the Messenger.

We may here likewise observe in this and many places of *Judges* ‡, that when the *Israelites* fell to Idolatry, which of all Sins certainly is one of the greatest, G O D Almighty ††, to proportion the Punishment and the Offence, still delivered them into the hands of Tyrants, which sure is one of the greatest of all Plagues.

† *Exod.* 2. 11, 12. † *Vid. Et. Governador Christiano.* c. 8. p. 40.

\* *Qualquiera ciudadano me de repeter la fuerza, &c.*

|| *Judg.* c. 3. v. 11, 19, 20.

‡ v. 15.

†† v. 20.

In the Story of *Sampson*\*, 'tis manifest, that the denying him his Wife, and after the burning her and her Father; which tho' they were great, yet were but private Injuries, he took for sufficient Grounds to make War upon the *Philistines*, being himself but a private Man, and not only not assisted, but opposed by his servile Countrymen. He knew what the Law of Nature allowed him, where other Laws have no place, and thought it a sufficient justification for smiting the *Philistines* Hip and Thigh, to answer for himself; that as they did unto him, so had he done unto them.

Now that which was lawful for *Sampson* to do against many Oppressors, why is it unlawful for us to do against one? Are our Injuries less? Our Friends and Relations are daily murder'd before our Faces. Have we other ways for Reparation? Let them be named and I am silenced: But if we have none, the Fire-brands, or the Jaw-bone, the first Weapons our just Fury can lay hold on, may certainly be lawfully employ'd against that uncircumcis'd *Philistine* that oppresses us. We have too the Opposition and Discouragements that *Sampson* had, and therefore have the more need of his Courage and Resolution: As he had the Men of *Judah*, so we have the Men of *Levi*, crying to us out of the Pulpit, as from the top of the Rock *Etam*, *Know you not that the Philistine is a ruler over you?* The truth is, they would fain make him so, and bind us, with *Sampson*, in new Cords; but we hope they will become as Flax, and that they will either loose from our Hands, or we shall have the Courage to cut them.

Upon the same grounds of Retaliation did *Samuel* † do Justice with his own Hand, upon the Tyrant *Agag*: *As thy Sword* (says the Prophet) *hath made Women childless, so shall thy mother be childless amongst Women.* Nor is there any Law more natural and more just.

How many Mothers has our *Agag*, for his own Ambition, made Childless? How many Children Fatherless? How many have this reason to hew this *Amalekite* in pieces before the Lord? And let his own Relations, and all theirs that are Confederates with him, beware, lest Men come at last to revenge their own Relations in them. They make many a Woman Husbandless, and many a Father ‡ Childless: Their Wives may come at last to know what 'tis to want a Hus-

\* *Judg.* 15. 11, 14.

† *1 Sam.* 15. 33.

‡ *In Discors.*  
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band, and themselves to lose their Children. Let them remember what their great Apostle *Machiavel* tells them; That in Contestations for the preserving their Liberty, People many times use Moderation; but when they come to vindicate it, their Rigour exceeds all Mean, like Beasts that have been kept up, and are afterwards let loose, they always are more fierce and cruel.

To conclude with the Example *Jehoiada* \* hath left us: Six Years he hid the right Heir of the Crown in the House of the Lord, and, without all doubt, amongst the rest of God's Services, there he was all that time contriving the Destruction of the † Tyrant that had aspired to the Crown by the destruction of those that had the Right to it. *Jehoiada* had no pretence to authorize this Action, but the equity and justice of the Act itself: He pretended no immediate Command from GOD for what he did, nor any Authority from the Sanhedrim; and therefore any Man might have done what *Jehoiada* did, as lawfully, that could have done it as effectually as he. Now what Citation was given to *Athaliah*, what appearance was she call'd to before any Court of Justice? her Fact was her Tryal, she was without any Exposition taken forth of the Ranges, and only let live till she got out of the Temple ‡, that that Holy Place might not be defiled by the Blood of a Tyrant, which was fitter to be shed on a Dunghil; and so they slew her at the Horse-gate. And by the King's-House, the very *White-Hall* where she had caused the Blood-Royal to be spilt, and which herself had so long unjustly possess'd, there, by Providence, did she receive her Punishment, where she had acted so great a part of her Crimes. How the People approved of this glorious Action of destroying a Tyrant, this Chapter tells us at the last Verse: *And all the People of the Land rejoiced, and the City was quiet, after they had slain Athaliah with the Sword.* And that it may appear they no less honoured the Authors of such Actions, than other Nations did; as in his Lifetime they obeyed *Jehoiada* as a King, so after his Death, for the good he had done in *Israel* (saith the Scripture ||) they likewise buried him amongst the Kings.

I must not conclude this Story without observing that *Jehoiada* commanded, that whosoever followed *Athaliah*

\* 2 Kings c. 11.

† 2 Chron. 23.

‡ 2 Chron. 23. 14.

|| 2 Chron. 24. 16.



should be put to Death; letting us see what they deserve that are Confederates \* with Tyrants, and will side with them, and but appear to defend them, or allow them. His Highness's Council, his Junto, and the Agaes of his Janizaries, may, if they please, take notice of this, and repent, lest they likewise perish. And likewise His Highness's Chaplains and Tryers, who are to admit none into the Ministry that will preach Liberty with the Gospel, may, if they think fit, observe, that with the Tyrant fell *Mattan* the Priest of *Baal*. And indeed, none but *Baal*'s Priests will preach for Tyrants; And certainly those Priests that sacrifice to our *Baal*, our Idol of a Magistrate, deserve as well to be hang'd before their Pulpits, as ever *Mattan* † did to fall before his Altars.

I should think now I had said much more than enough to the second Question, and should come to the third and last I propos'd in my Method; but I meet with two Objections lying in my way: The first is, That these Examples out of Scripture are of Men that were inspired of GOD, and that therefore they had that Call and Authority for their Actions, which we cannot pretend to, so that it would be unsafe for for us to draw their Actions into Examples, except we had likewise their Justifications to alledge.

The other Objection is, That there being now no opposition made to the Government of His Highness, that the People following their Callings and Traffick at home and abroad, making use of the Laws, and appealing to His Highness's Courts of Justice: That all this argues the Peoples tacit Consent to the Government; and that therefore now 'tis to be reputed lawful, and the Peoples Obedience voluntary.

To the first I answer, with Learned *Milton*, that if GOD commanded these things, 'tis a sign they were lawful, and are commendable. But, secondly, As I observed in the relations of the Examples themselves; neither *Sampson* nor *Samuel* alledged any other Cause or Reason for what they did, but Retaliation, and the apparent Justice of the Actions themselves. Nor had GOD appeared to *Moses* in the Bush; when he slew the *Egyptian*; nor did *Jehoiada* alledge any Prophetical Authority or other Call to do what he did, but that common Call which all Men have, to do all Actions of

\* *Mr. Sindercombe's Judge and Jury may likewise consider of this Point.*

† 2 Chron. 23. 17.

Justice that are within their Power, when the ordinary course of Justice ceases.

To the second my Answer is, That if Commerce and Pleadings were enough to argue the Peoples Consent, and give Tyranny the name of Government; there was never yet any Tyranny of many Weeks standing in this World. Certainly, we then extremely wrong *Caligula* and *Nero* in calling them Tyrants, and they were Rebels that conspired against them; except we will believe that all the while they reigned in *Rome* they kept their Shops shut, and open'd not their Temples, or their Courts. We are likewise with no less absurdity to imagine, that the whole Eighteen Years time which *Israel* served *Eglon*, and six Years that *Athaliah* reigned, the *Israelites* quite desisted from Traffick, Pleadings, and all publick Acts; otherwise *Ehud* and *Jehoiada* were both Traitors, the one for killing his King, the other his Queen.

Having shewed what a Tyrant is, his Marks and Practices, I can scarce perswade myself to say any thing to that I made my third Question, Whether the removing him is like to prove of Advantage to the Commonwealth or not? For methinks 'tis to enquire whether 'tis better the Man die or the Impostume be lanc'd, or the gangreen'd Limb be cut off? But there be some whose Cowardice and Avarice furnish them with some Arguments to the contrary; and they would fain make the World believe, that to be base and degenerate is to be cautious and prudent; and what is in truth a servile Fear, they falsely call a Christian Patience. It will not be therefore amiss to make appear that there is indeed that necessity which we think there is, of saving the Vineyard of the Commonwealth, if possible, by destroying the wild Boar that is broke into it. We have already shewed that it is lawful, and now we shall see whether it is expedient. First, I have already told you, That to be under a Tyrant is not to be a Commonwealth, but a great Family, consisting of Master and Slaves. *Vir bone, servorum nulla est usquam civitas*, (says an old Poet) A number of Slaves makes not a City. So that whilst this Monster lives we are not Members of a Commonwealth, but only his living Tools and Instruments, which he may employ to what use he pleases. *Servi tua est fortuna, Ratio ad te nihil*, (says another) Thy Condition is a Slaves, thou art not to enquire a Reason; nor must we think we can continue long in the condition of Slaves, and  
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not degenerate into the Habits and Temper that is natural to that Condition: our Minds will grow low with our Fortune, and by being accustomed to live like Slaves, we shall become unfit to be any thing else: *Etiam fera animalia si clausa teneas virtutis obliviscuntur*, (says Tacitus) \* The fiercest Creatures, by long constraint, lose their Courage. And, says Sir Fr. Bacon, The Blessing of *Issachar*, and that of *Judah*, falls not upon one People, to be Asses crouching under Burdens, and to have the Spirit of Lions. And with their Courage 'tis no wonder if they lose their Fortune, as the Effect with the Cause, and act as ignominiously abroad as they suffer at home. 'Tis *Machiavel's* † Observation, that the *Roman* Armies that were always victorious under Consuls, all the while they were under the slavery of the *Decemviri*, never prosper'd. And certainly People have reason to fight but faintly, where they are to gain the Victory against themselves; when every Success shall be a confirmation of their Slavery, and a new Link to their Chain.

But we shall not only lose our Courage, which is a useless and an unsafe Virtue under a Tyrant, but by degrees we shall, after the Example of our Master, all turn Perfidious, Deceitful, Irreligious, Flatterers, and whatever is villanous and infamous in Mankind. See but to what a degree we are come already: Can there any Oath be found so fortified by all Religious Ties, which we easily find not a distinction to break, when either Profit or Danger persuades us to it? Do we remember any Engagements, or if we do, have we any shame to break them? Can any Man think with Patience upon what we have professed, when he sees what we wildly do, and tamely suffer? What have we of Nobility amongst us but the Name, the Luxury and the Vices of it? Poor Wretches! these that now carry that Title, are so far from having any of the Virtues that should grace, and indeed give them their Titles, that they have not so much as the generous Vices that attend Greatness; they have lost all Ambition and Indignation. As for our Ministers, What have they, or indeed desire they, of their Calling, but the Tythes? How do these horrid Prevaricators search for Distinctions to piece contrary Oaths? How do they rake Scriptures for Flatteries? and impudently apply them to His monstrous Highness? What is

\* Hist. lib. 4.

† Discors l. 1. c. 24.

|| Doctor Locker, Dr. Owen, Mr. Jenkins, &c.



the City but a great tame Beast, that eats and carries, and cares not who rides it? What's the thing call'd a Parliament, but a Mock? compos'd of a People that are only suffer'd to sit there, because they are known to have no Virtue, after the Exclusion of all others that were but suspected to have any? What are they but Pimps of Tyranny, who are only employed to draw in the People to prostitute their Liberty? What will not the Army fight for? What will they not fight against? What are they but Janizaries, Slaves themselves, and making all others so? What are the People in general, but Knaves, Fools, and Cowards, principled for Ease, Vice, and Slavery? This is our Temper this Tyranny hath brought us to already; and if it continues, the little Virtue that is yet left to stock the Nation, must totally extinguish; and then His Highness hath compleated his Work of Reformation. And the truth is, till then His Highness cannot be secure. He must not endure Virtue, for that will not endure him. He that will maintain Tyranny must kill *Brutus*, says \**Machiavel*. A Tyrant, says *Plato*, † must dispatch all vertuous Persons, or he cannot be safe; so that he is brought to that unhappy necessity, either to live amongst base and wicked Persons, or not to live at all.

Nor must we expect any Cure from our Patience; *In xanno si gli huomini*, says *Machiavel*, ∴ *credendo con la humilita vincere la superbia*. Men deceive themselves that think to mollify Arrogancy with Humility; a Tyrant is never modest but when he is weak; 'tis in the winter of his Fortune when this Serpent bites not: we must not therefore suffer ourselves to be cozened with hopes of his Amendment; for, *Nemo unquam ‡ Imperium flagitio quæstum bonis artibus exercuit*; Never did any Man manage the Government with Justice that got it by Villany. The longer the Tyrant lives, the more the Tyrannical Humour encreases in him, says || *Plato*, like those Beasts that grow more curst as they grow old. New Occasions daily happen that necessitate them to new Mischiefs; and he must defend one Villany with another.

But suppose the contrary of all this, and that His Highness were *vi Dominationis conversus*, & *mutatus*, changed

\* *Disc. l. 3. c. 3.* † *De Repub. l. 8.* ∴ *Disc. l. 2. c. 14.*

‡ *Tacit. Hist. l. 1.* || *De Repub. l. 9.*

to the better by great Fortune. (of which he yet gives no Symptoms) what notwithstanding could be more miserable than to have no other security for our Liberty, no other Law for our Safety, than the Will of a Man, tho' the most just living? We have all our Beast within us; and whosoever (says \* *Aristotle*) is governed by a Man without a Law, is governed by a Man and by a Beast. *Etiam si non sit molestus Dominus; tamen est miserrimum posse si velit*, (says † *Tully*) Tho' a Master does not tyrannize, yet 'tis a most miserable thing that 'tis in his Power to do so if he will. If he be good, so was *Nero* for Five Years; and how shall we be secure that he will not change? Besides, the Power that is allowed to a good Man, we may be sure will be claimed and taken by an ill; and therefore it hath been the Custom of good Princes ‡ to abridge their own Power, it may be distrusting themselves, but certainly fearing their Successors, to the chance of whose being vertuous, they would not hazard the welfare of their People. An unlimited Power therefore is to be trusted to none, which if it does not find a Tyrant, commonly makes one; or if one uses it modestly, 'tis no Argument that others will; and therefore *Augustus Caesar* must have no greater Power given him than you would have *Tiberius* take. And ∴ *Cicero's* Moderation is to be trusted with a Consideration, that there are others to be Consuls as well as he.

But before I press this Business further, if it needs be any farther prest, that we should endeavour to rescue the Honour, the Virtue, and Liberty of our Nation, I shall answer to some few Objections that have occurred to me. This I shall do very briefly.

Some I find of a strange Opinion, that it were a generous and a noble Action to kill His Highness in the Field; but to do it privately they think it unlawful, but know not why; as if it were not generous to apprehend a Thief till his Sword were drawn, and he in a posture to defend himself and kill me. But these People do not consider, that whosoever is possessed of Power at any time, will be sure to engage so many either in Guilt or Profit, or both, that to go about to throw him out by open force, will very much hazard the

\* *Pol. l. 3. c. 11.* † *Cic. Phil. 4.* ‡ *Lycurgus Theopomp.*  
*Plut. in Lycurg.* ∴ *Vid. Orat. Caesaris in Sallust. consp. Cat.*

total ruine of the Commonwealth. A Tyrant is a Devil that tears the Body in the exorcising, and they are all of *Caligula's* Temper\*, that if they could, they would have the whole frame of Nature fall with them. 'Tis an Opinion that deserves no other Refutation than the manifest absurdity of itself; that it should be lawful for me to destroy a Tyrant with Hazard, Blood, and Confusion, but not without.

Another Objection, and more common, is the fear of what may succeed if His Highness were removed. One would think the World were bewitched. I am fallen into a Ditch where I shall certainly perish if I lie; but I refuse to be helped out for fear of falling into another: I suffer a certain misery for fear of a contingent one, and let the Disease kill me because there is Hazard in the Cure. Is not this that ridiculous Policy, *Ne moriare, mori*, To die for fear of dying? Sure 'tis frenzy not to desire a change when we are sure we cannot be worse. *Et non incurrere in pericula, ubi quiescenti peria metuuntur*†, and not then to hazard when the danger and mischiefs are the same in lying still.

Hitherto I have spoken in general to all *English-men*, now I address my Discourse particularly to those that certainly best deserve that Name, ourselves, that have fought, however unfortunately, for our Liberties under this Tyrant, and in the end, cozened by his Oaths and Tears, have purchased nothing but our Slavery with the price of our Blood. To us particularly it belongs to bring this Monster to Justice, whom he hath made the Instruments of his Villany, and sharers in the Curse and Detestation that is due to himself from all good Men: Others only have their Liberty to vindicate, we our Liberty and our Honour. We engaged to the People with him, and to the People for him, and from our hands they may justly expect a satisfaction of Punishment, being they cannot have that of Performance. What the People at present endure, and Posterity shall suffer, will be all laid at our Doors; for only we, under GOD, have the Power to pull down this *Dagon* which we have set up: And if we do it not, all Mankind will repute us Approvers of all the Villanies he hath done, and Authors of all to come. Shall we that would not endure a King attempting Tyranny, shall we suf-

\* *Sueton. in vit. Calig.*

† *Seneca.*



For a profest Tyrant? We that resisted the Lion assailing us, shall we submit to the Wolf tearing us? If there be no remedy to be found, we have great reason to exclaim, † *Utinam te potius (Carole) retinuissemus quam hunc habuissemus, non quod ulla sit optanda servitus, sed quod ex dignitate Domini minus turpis est conditio servi*; We wish we had rather endured thee (O Charles) than have been condemned to this mean Tyrant; not that we desire any kind of Slavery, but that the quality of the Master something graces the condition of the Slave.

But if we consider it rightly, what our Duty, our Engagements, and our Honour exact from us, both our Safety and our Interest oblige us to; and 'tis as unanswerable, in us, to Discretion as 'tis to Vertue, to let this Viper live: For first, he knows very well 'tis only we that have the Power to hurt him, and therefore of us he will take any course to secure himself: He is conscious to himself how falsely and perfidiously he hath dealt with us; and therefore he will always fear that from our Revenge, which he knows he hath so well deserved.

Lastly, he knows our Principles, how directly contrary they are to that Arbitrary Power he must govern by, and therefore he may reasonably suspect, that we that have already ventured our Lives against Tyranny, will always have the Will, when we have the Opportunity, to do the same again.

These Considerations will easily persuade him to secure himself of us, if we prevent him not, and secure ourselves of him. He reads in his Practice of Piety \*, *chi diviene Patron*, &c. He that makes himself Master of a City that hath been accustomed to Liberty, if he destroys it not, he must expect to be destroyed by it. And we may read too in the same Author †, and believe him, that those that are the occasion that one becomes Powerful, are always ruined by him, if they want the Wit and Courage to secure themselves.

Now as to our Interest, we must never expect that he will ever trust those that he hath provoked and fears: he will be sure to keep us down lest we should pluck down him. 'Tis the Rule that Tyrants observe, when they are in Power, never to make much use of those that helped them to it; and

‡ Cic. in Epist. ad Octav.

\* Mach. pr. c. 9.

† Ibid. c. 3:

indeed 'tis their Interest and Security not to do it: for those that have been the Authors of their Greatness, being conscious of their own Merit, they are bold with the Tyrant, and less industrious to please him: they think all he can do for them is their due, and still they expect more; and when they fail in their Expectations, (as 'tis impossible to satisfy them) their Disappointments make them discontented, and their Discontents dangerous. Therefore all Tyrants follow the Example of *Dionysius*, who was said to use his Friends as he did his Bottles, When he had use for them he kept them by him; when he had none, that they should not trouble him and lie in his way, he hung them up.

But to conclude this already over-long Paper, Let every Man to whom GOD hath given the Spirit of Wisdom and Courage, be persuaded by his Honour, his Safety, his own good and his Countries, and indeed the Duty he owes to his Generation, and to Mankind, to endeavour by all rational Means to free the World of this Pest. Let not other Nations have the occasion to think so meanly of us, as if we resolved to sit still and have our Ears bored, or that any Discouragements or Disappointments can ever make us desist from attempting our Liberty, till we have purchased it, either by this Monsters Death or by our own. Our Nation is not yet so barren of Virtue, that we want Noble Examples to follow amongst ourselves. The brave *Sindercomb* hath shewed as great a Mind as any old *Rome* could boast of; and had he lived there, his Name had been registred with *Brutus* and *Cato*, and he had had his Statues as well as they.

But I will not have so sinister an Opinion of ourselves (as little Generosity as Slavery hath left us) as to think so great a Vertue can want its Monument even amongst us. Certainly in every vertuous Mind there are Statues rear'd to *Sindercombe*. Whenever we read the Elogies of those that have died for their Country; when we admire those great Examples of Magnanimity, that have tired Tyrants Cruelties; when we extol their Constancy whom neither Bribes nor Terrors could make betray their Friends; 'tis then we erect *Sindercombe* Statues, and grave him Monuments, where all that can be said of a great and Noble Mind, we justly make an Epitaph for him: And tho' the Tyrant cause him to be smothered, lest the People should hinder an open Murder, yet he will never be able to smother his Memory or his own Villany. His Poison was but a poor and common Device to im-

pose only on those that understood not Tyrants Practices, and are unacquainted (if any be) with his Cruelties and Falshoods. He may therefore, if he please, take away the Stake from *Sindercomb's* Grave, and, if he have a mind it should be known how he died, let him send thither the Pillows and Feather-beds with which *Barkstead* and his Hangman smothered him. But to conclude, Let not this Monster think himself the more secure that he hath suppress'd one great Spirit\*, he may be confident that *Longus post illum sequitur ordo idem petentium decus*.

There's a great Roll behind, even of those that are in his own Muster-Rolls, and are ambitious of the name of the Deliverers of their Country; and they know what the Action is that will purchase it. His Bed, his Table, is not secure, and he stands in need of other Guards to defend him against his own Death. Death and Destruction pursues him wherever he goes; they follow him every where, like his Fellow-travellers, and at last they will come upon him like armed Men†. Darkeness is hid in his secret places, a Fire not blown shall consume him; it shall go ill with him that is left in his Tabernacle‡. He shall flee from the Iron Weapon, and a Bow of Steel shall strike him through. Because he hath oppress'd and forsaken the Poor; because he hath violently taken away a House§ which he builded not; we may be confident, and so may he, that e're long all this will be accomplish'd; for the Triumphant of the Wicked is but short, and the Joy of the Hypocrite but for a moment. Tho' His Excellency|| mount up to the Heavens, and his Head reacheth unto the Clouds, yet he shall perish for ever like his own Dung. They that have seen him shall say, Where is he?

## POSTSCRIPT.

Courteous Reader,

**E**Xpect another Sheet or two of Paper of this Subject, if I escape the Tyrant's hands, altho' he gets (in the interim) the Crown upon his Head, which he hath (underhand) put his Confederates on to petition his acceptance thereof.

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\* And what may Ciccil and Toop expect for their Treachery and Perjury? † Job 20. ‡ v. 5. § White-hall, Hampton-Court, &c. || He hath now left that Title for Highness, and will shortly leave that for King.



THE  
L I F E  
O F  
E D W A R D  
*Earl of* CLARENDON.

**M**R. *Edward Hide* was the Son of *Henry Hide*, of *Pyrton* in the County of *Wilts*, by *Mary* his Wife, the Daughter and Heir of *Edward Langford* of *Tunbridge*, in the same County: Which *Henry* was the Third Son of *Laurence Hide*, of *Gussage St. Michael* in the County of *Dorset*, descended from an Ancient and Genteel Family of his Name, living at *Northbury* in *Cheshire*. This Gentleman was born at *Dinton* near *Hindon* in *Wiltshire*, on the 16th of *February*, or thereabouts, in the Year 1608. He was very carefully Educated in Grammar-Learning in his Youth, soon discovered the pregnancy of his Parts, and his elevated Genius; and in Lent-Term, *Anno* 1622, became a Student of *Magdalen-Hall* in the University of *Oxford*; where having apply'd himself to indefatigable Study, and highly improv'd his Natural Endowments with Academical Learning, he remov'd from thence after he had taken the Degree of Batchelor of Arts, to the *Middle-Temple*, where he studied the Law for several Years, and attained to an immense Knowledge in that Honourable Profession. But not attaining to any Publick Station till the Year 1640, we have nothing remarkable concerning him till that time; when he came to sit in the House of Commons as Member of Parliament for *Wotton-Basset*.

How dutifully he carried himself here to his Prince, how desirous he was of the Welfare and Tranquillity of the Nation,

tion, how strenuously he opposed *Hambden* and other Leading Men of the Factious Party, may be learned from his own *History of the Rebellion*.

He was very servicable to his Country, in helping to take away the Court of *York*, of which the Earl of *Strafford* had for some Years been President. The Commons, in a Committee, having taken the same into Consideration, Mr. *Hide* the Chairman reported the Case; and thereupon it was resolved, That the Commissions and Instructions whereby the President and Council in the *North* exercised a Jurisdiction, was Illegal both in Creation and Execution; and that it was unprofitable to His Majesty, and inconvenient and grievous to His Subjects in those Parts. Mr. *Hide* thereupon being appointed to manage the Conference with the Lords touching the same Court, he made the following Learned and Eloquent Speech to them.

My Lords,

**I** Am commanded by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgessees of the House of Commons, to present to your Lordships a great crying Grievance; which tho' it be complain'd of in the present Pressures, but by the Northern Parts, yet by the Logick and Consequence of it, it is the Grievance of the whole Kingdom: The Court of the Presidents and Council of the North, or as it is more usually called, The Court of York, which, by the Spirit and Ambition of the Ministers trusted there, or by the natural Inclination of Courts to enlarge their own Power and Jurisdiction, hath so prodigiously broken down the Banks of the first Channel in which it ran, as hath almost overwhelmed the Country under the Sea of Arbitrary Power, and involved the People in a Labyrinth of Distemper, Oppression, and Poverty.

To remember your Lordships of the foundation and erecting this Court, and of the progress and growth of it, will not be unacceptable.

Your Lordships well know, that upon the suppression of all Religious Houses to such a Value, in the 27th Year of Henry VIII. from that time to the 30th Year of that King's Reign, many (not fewer than six) Insurrections and Rebelions were made in the Northern Parts, under pretence of that Quarrel, most of them under the Command of some eminent Person of that Country; the which being quieted before the end of the 30th Year, that Great King well knowing

knowing his own Mind, and what he meant to do with the great Houses of Religion, in the Year following, for the prevention of any Inconvenience that might ensue to him upon such Distemper, in the 31<sup>st</sup> Year of his Reign granted a Commission to the Bishop of Landaff, the first President, and others, for the quiet Government of the County of York, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, the Bishoprick of Durham, the County of the Cities of York, Kingston upon Hull, and Newcastle upon Tine. But, my Lords, this Commission was no other than a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, only it had a Clause at the end of it for the Hearing of all Causes, Real and Personal. Quando ambæ partes, vel altera pars, gravata paupertate fuerit: Quod ita ut quomodo jus suum secundum Legem Regni nostri aliter persequi non possit. Which Clause, how illegal soever (for that it is illegal and void in Law, little doubt can be made) yet whether they exercised that part of the Commission at all, or so sparingly exercised it, that poor People found ease and benefit by it, I know not, for at that time I find no Complaint against that Court. And in the first Year of King James, a Commission was granted to the Lord Sheffield, which varied not from the former, only it had reference to Instructions which should be sent, but we find none sent. In June, the 7<sup>th</sup> Year of the Reign of King James, a new Commission was granted to the said Lord Sheffield, very differing from all that went before; it being left out, that they should enquire per Sacramentum bonorum & legalium hominum, and to hear and determine, secundum Leges Angliæ, relation being had only to the Instructions, which were the first Instructions which we can find were sent thither. I shall not trouble your Lordships with these or any other Instructions, but descend to the present Instructions and Commissions under which that part of the Kingdom groans and languishes since the Lord Strafford came to that Government, which was in December, 4 Car. and since the Commission hath been three several times renewed, in the fifth Year in March, in the 8<sup>th</sup> in November, in the 13<sup>th</sup> Year of His Majesty's Reign. Into to that Commission of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup>, a new Clause was inserted for the granting, sequestering, and establishing Possessions, according to Instructions crouded in a mass of new, exorbitant, and intolerable Power.

Tho' our Complaint be against this Commission itself,  
and



and against the whole body of those Instructions, I shall not trouble Your Lordships with the 9th Instruction, tho' it be but short; which introduceth that miseram servitutem, ubi jus est vagum & incognitum, by requiring an Obedience to such Ordinances and Determinations as be or shall be made by the Council Table, or High Commission Court. Aggrievance, my Lords, howsoever, consuetudo & peccatum claritas nobilitaverit hanc culpam, of so transcendent a nature, that Your Lordships noble Justice will provide a Remedy for it, with no less care than you would rescue the Life and Blood of the Commonwealth.

Read the 19, 22, 23, 24, 29, and 30. I will not trouble Your Lordships with reading more, there being among them, in the whole 58 Instructions, scarce one that is not against or besides the Law.

Whether His Majesty may Cantonize out a part of his Kingdom to be tried by Commission (tho' according to the Rules of Law, since the whole Kingdom is under the Laws and Government of the Courts established at Westminster, and by this reason the several Parts of the Kingdom may be deprived of that Privilege) will not be now the Question.

His Majesty cannot by Commission erect a new Court of Chancery, or a Proceeding according to the Rules of the Star-Chamber, as is most clear to all who have read Magna Charta, which allowed no Proceedings, Nisi per legale Judicium Parium & per Legem terræ; for our Court of Chancery here, by long usage and prescription, is grown to be, as it were, Lex Terræ. But, my Lords, the 30th Instruction goes further, and erects such an Empire, such a Dominion, as shall be liable to no controul.

The Courts of Westminster, my Lords, have Superintendencies over all Inferior Courts, to regulate their Jurisdictions if they exceed their Limits, as to hold Plea of greater Value, or the like.

In the exercise of Jurisdiction, the Judges are sworn to grant and send Prohibitions: But to stop the granting of these Prohibitions, or to neglect them when they are granted, is the greatest and boldest scorn of the Law and the Law-makers that can be imagined.

And whosoever gave Directions for these stout Instructions, might have remember'd, that no longer since than Michaelmas, in the second Year of Eliz. Rot. 31. an Attachment was granted against the Archbishop of York, then  
Presi-

President of that Council, for forbidding the Goaler of York to deliver one Lambert his Prisoner, who was sent for by a Habeas Corpus from the King's-Bench.

*And can such a Court as this, my Lords, deserve to live? What a compendious Abridgment hath York gotten of all the Courts in Westminster-Hall? Whatsoever falls within the Cognizance or Jurisdiction of other Courts here, is compleatly determinable within that one Court at York, besides the Power it hath with the Ecclesiastical and High-Commission Courts.*

*What have the good Northern People done, that they only must be disfranchised of all their Privileges by Magna Charta and the Petition of Right? For to what purpose serve these Statutes, if they may be Fined and Imprisoned without Law, according to the Discretion of the Commissioners? What have they done that they (that they alone) of all the People of this happy Island must be disinherited of their Birthright, of their Inheritance? For Prohibitions, Writs of Habeas Corpus, Writs of Error, are the Birthright, the Inheritance of the Subjects.*

*Your Lordships remember the Directions I mention, that by Magna Charta all Proceedings shall be per legale judicium Parium & per Legem Terræ.*

*Now these Jurisdictions tell you, you shall proceed according to your Discretion, Secundum sanas discretiones, i. e. You shall do what you please; only that we may not suspect this Discretion will be gentler and kinder to us than the Law, special Provision is made in the Instructions, that no Fine, no Punishment shall be less than by the Law is appointed; by no means, but as much greater as your Discretion shall think fit. And indeed in this Improvement, we find Arbitrary Courts are very pregnant; if the Law require my good Behaviour, this Discretion makes me close Prisoner; if the Law sets me upon the Pillory, this Discretion appoints me to leave my Ears there. To proceed according to Discretion, is to proceed according to Law, which is summa Discretio; but not according to their private Conceit or Affection: for Talis Discretio (saith the Law) Discretionem confundit: And such a Confusion hath this Discretion in these Instructions produced, as if Discretion were only to act with Rage and Fury. No Inconvenience, no Mischief, no Disgrace that the Malice, or Insolence, or Curiosity of these Commissioners*

*missioners had a mind to bring upon that People, but thro' the latitude and power of this Discretion the poor People have felt. This Discretion hath been the Quicksand which hath swallowed up their Property, their Liberty. I beseech your Lordships rescue them from this Discretion.*

*Truly, my Lords, these vexed, worn People of the North, are no Suitors to your Lordships to regulate this Court, or to reform the Judges of it; but for extirpating these Judges, and the utter abolishing this Court. They are of Cato's Mind, who would not submit to Cæsar for his Life, saying, he would not be beholden to a Tyrant for Injustice; for it was Injustice in him to take upon him to save a Man's Life, over whom he had no power.*

*N. B.* Afterwards the King gave his Consent that this Court be absolutely taken away by Act of Parliament.

He was watchful for the Security of the Establish'd Church, and therefore when a Bill was brought in to take away Bishops Votes in Parliament, he was very earnest for throwing of it out. And in the Tragical Business of the Earl of *Strafford*, tho' he was always the Earl's Friend, and said and did all he could to preserve him, yet he had the good Fortune so far to escape the Malice of the enraged Multitude, as not to be put in the List of *Straffordians* which was posted up in the *Old-Palace-Yard* at *Westminster*.

The Commons having prepared a Charge against the Lord Chief Baron *Davenport*, Baron *Weston*, and Baron *Trevor*, who had given their Opinions in favour of Ship-money, Mr. *Hide* was sent up with that Impeachment to the Lords, to whom he made an excellent Speech, wherein he told them, *There could not be a greater Instance of a sick and languishing Commonwealth, than the business of that Day; how could the Guilty of late Years be punished, when the Judges themselves have been such Delinquents? That 'twas an irregular, extravagant, and arbitrary Power had broke in, like a Torrent, upon them, when the Laws, our Banks and Bulwarks of our Liberties, were in the Custody of such Persons, that Men who had lost their Innocence, could not preserve their Courage; so that it could not be expected that those who had visibly undone them, should themselves have the virtue or credit to rescue them from the Oppression of other Men. 'Twas said by one who always spoke excellently, That the Twelve Judges were like the Twelve Lions*  
under



under the Throne of Solomon : Under the Throne in Obedience, but yet Lions. That their Lordships shall this Day hear of Six, who (be they what they will be else) were no Lions, but who upon vulgar Fears delivered up the precious Forts they were intrusted with, almost without assault, and in a tame, easy trance of Flattery and Servitude, lost and forfeited (shamefully forfeited) that Reputation, Awe, and Reverence which the Wisdom, Courage, and Gravity of their venerable Predecessors had contracted and fasten'd to the Places they then held : And even render'd that Study and Profession (which in all Ages had been, and he hoped now would be held in honourable esteem) so vile and contemptible, that had not that blessed Day come, all Men would have had that quarrel to the Law itself, which Marius had to the Greek Tongue, who thought it a Mockery for a Man to learn that Language the Masters whereof lived in Bondage under others. And he appeal'd to these unhappy Gentlemen themselves, with what strange neglect, scorn, and indignation the Faces of all Men, even of the meanest, have been directed towards them, since (to call it no worse) that fatal declension of their Understandings in those Judgments, of which they stand here charged before your Lordships. But yet that the Work of that Day was the greatest Instance of a growing and thriving Commonwealth too, and as the dawning of a fair and lasting Day of Happiness to this Kingdom. That it was in their Lordships Power (as he was sure in their Inclination) to restore the dejected, broken People of this Island to their former Joy and Security; the Successors of the Accused to their former Knowledge and Esteem, & sepultas prope leges revocare.

Here having read Three several Charges against the Barons aforesaid, he observed to their Lordships, That the great Resolution in Ship-Money was a Crime of so prodigious a Nature, that it could not easily be digested by the Consciences even of these Men ; but that as those who are to Wrestle, or Run a Race, did gradually prepare themselves by Diet and lesser Essays for the main Exercise ; so those Judges entred themselves, and hardned their Hearts by more particular Incroachments upon the Law, by Taxes and Impositions upon Merchants, by Burdens and Pressures upon the Gentry, and by Knighthood, before they could arrive at that general Ruin of the Kingdom by Ship-Money, which

which flattered them with Rewards and Security for all their former Services; by doing the Work of a Parliament, in giving Supplies to the King, and seemed to elude Justice, in leaving none to judge them; by making the whole Kingdom a Party to their Oppression: That those Three Judges seemed to be equally guilty of that Crime; for tho' the Lord Chief Baron was not charged with that Judgment in the Exchequer-Chamber against Mr. Hambden, and that he happen'd to fail in making his Conclusion from his own Premises, yet their Lordships saw how soon he repented that that Mischief was done without him there, by overtaking his Brethren in his Circuit; and that as 'twas said of the basest sort of Flatterers, *Crudelissimo Servitutis genere, quod intra se abominabantur, palam laudabant*, he made all possible haste to rescue himself from that Imputation of Justice, and publicly declared, in the face of the Country, that it was adjudged by all the Judges of England, that Ship-Money was due to the King.

That he had nothing to say, as to the Resolutions and Judgment itself, upon which their Lordships had passed their Noble Judgment; but that the first Charge in order was that presumptuous Decree against Mr. Rolls and others; and that in reality, what Gloss soever was put upon it, it was no other than a plain Grant of the Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage upon all Merchandise, to the King; that after their Goods were seized for non-payment of the pretended Duty, and that the Proprietors brought Replevins, the natural and genuine Remedy in Cases of Property, the Court awarded an Injunction to stay them: That the Goods were in the King's Possession, and no Replevin would lie against him. Here Mr. Hide tells their Lordships, That the Injustice was not so scandalous as the Fraud; that every Body indeed knew, that neither a Replevin, nor any other Suit, lay against the King, if the Goods were in his own Hands, in his Bed-Chamber; but that to call a Seizure by Farmers, or the Ware-houses of the Customs, the King's Possession, was to deprive the Subject of his proper Remedy, and the boldest piece of Sophistry to be met with in a Court of Judicature. The Civilians, continues he, say, *Tutor Domini loco habetur, cum rem Administrat, non cum pupillum spoliat*. That the Office of Judges was to preserve and remedy Mens Rights; that they found here the known and unquestionable Right; What then must these Judges be

*called? That he was not willing to say much upon the Subject, 'twas enough their Lordships knew Tonnage and Poundage were not a Duty to the Crown, but a Subsidy, and so granted in Subsidium; sometimes pro una vice tantum; sometimes for a Term of Years, then ceased when the Time expired; that when it was first granted for Life, it was with this Clause, Ita quod non trahetur in Exemplum futuris Regibus; and 'twas abundantly enough manifest His Majesty could not be tainted with the Advices and Judgment of these Men, but looked on that Duty singly, as the meer Affection and Bounty of his Subjects, which doubtless he should never want.*

*That the next Charge was concerning Impositions, that Mr. Vassal's Goods were seiz'd for not paying Imposts, which he looked upon to be against Law; that he was Imprison'd and had Judgment given against him, without suffering him to be heard in point of Right, as having been before an adjudged Case in that of Bates's; and that yet those very Judges did not think themselves so tied up by former Judgments, but that they had argued a Case since, upon the same Head, which was that of Walsingham, adjudged in Hilary-Term, 15 Eliz. and continued afterwards by all the Judges of England, in a Writ of Error in the 21st of that Queen's Reign: That however they were seiz'd again with the same Modesty in the Case of a Noble Lord, not then present; that it was not then the Question, whether the King, without Consent of Parliament, could lay Impositions upon the Merchants Goods; that that Matter was resolved, and nothing now could be said upon the Argument: Only he took leave to say, that if the King could by Letters Patents create such a Right to himself, and by a Legal Course recover that Right, under such a Title, that then such Letters Patents were no ways inferior to an Act of Parliament: That to reconcile such a Power in the Prince, with the Property of the Subject, so that the one should not be destructive of the other, would require a far greater and subtler Genius than he pretended to.*

*However, he proceeded and told their Lordships, That he did not take the Judgment in the Case to be so great a Crime in those Judges, as that they presumed to Judge at all; that the Matter had been long debated in Parliament undetermin'd, and therefore not within the Cognizance of an inferior Court: That if what Fortescue says in his 36th*  
Chapter



*Chapter of the Laws of England had not been true, Neque Rex per se aut Ministros suos, tallagia, subsidia, aut quævis onera alia imponit, &c. sine Concessione vel Assensu totius Regni sui in Parlamento suo Expresso, &c. That if the Statute de Tallagio non Concedendo, if the Thirtieth Chapter of Magna Charta, and all other Statutes to that End, were not clear in the Matter, they might easily have apprehended so much Weight and Difficulty in the Question, (especially since the Word Imposition was not so much as found in any of their Law Books, till the Case in the Lord Dyer, 1 Eliz.) that they might very well have thought themselves no competent Judges to determine it; and he hoped from the Experience of that Parliament, the Judges would recover that ancient Modesty, to believe that some Cases might fall out which came not properly within their Jurisdiction. That in the 9th of Edward II. it being found by an Office, after the Death of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, that his Sisters were his Heirs, nisi Comitissa Glocestrie esset prægnans, the Question was, Whether the King might give the Heirs the Livery, in prejudicium Impregnaturæ; but this being looked upon as a difficult knotty Business, and the King having Commanded the Chancellor and Judges to give their Opinions in Writing, their Answer was, Quod non Audebant dictum Negotium definire, nec Domino Regi consulere sine consensu Magnatum, propter raritatem & difficultatem; and that thereupon a Day was assigned the Parties, ad proximum Parliamentum. Then he appealed to their Lordships Knowledge of what special Care there was taken by the Statute of 14 Edw. III. Cap. 5. that such difficult Matters as were not fit for the Judges, or through eminent delay were not dispatch'd by them, should be determined in Parliament. Not that he would have the Parties concern'd recur upon all Occasions to their Lordships Judgments, rather than the Rules and Proceedings of the Law, which might occasion much Mischief and Confusion; but in such Cases that had been delay'd only through the difficulty of them: and he wished those Gentlemen had thought it a Matter of so much difficulty as required to be delay'd.*

The next thing he came to, was the Charge concerning Knighthood, to which he said, *That Mr. Maleveren appearing upon the Process of the Court of Exchequer, and submitting to the Fine, posuit se in Gratiam Curæ; that the*

Barons refused to impose any Fine ; that they had no Power to do that, but that he must Treat with certain Commissioners appointed for that purpose, and Compound with them. He told their Lordships, That they had never met such Contradictions of Crimes in the same Men ; and who could have expected that in one Charge they should have the Mettle to usurp the Power, and to exercise the Jurisdiction of the Highest Court, the Court of Parliament, and presently to want the Spirit to do what was so restrain'd and peculiar to their Places, and such as none else could do. They had not the Power to Fine ; as if the whole business of Sworn Judges in a Court of Judicature was to summon Men thither, and then to send them on Errands to other Commissioners for Justice : 'Twas true that the Commissions of 1 Edw. II. to Tiptoffe and Berk, and afterwards to others, were and had been to Compound with those who desired it, or otherwise that they had no Power to compel or Fine any ; that that Trust by Law was, and was only in the Judge ; so that if that Duty was the King's Right, and that the Persons liable to it refused to Compound, the King, for any thing those Judges could do, must lose that Duty, for that they could impose no Fine : Only they had found a Trick, which they called the Course of the Court, to make His Majesty a Saver. Let Persons appear when they would, plead what they would, submit to the Mercy of the Court, Issues should go on still, as if they had done neither, till they had done somewhat that the Court would not order them to do, nor was bound to take notice of when they had done. That their Lordships were to help them out of that Circle ; and that they might see how incapable the Judges were of any Excuse in that respect, the very Mittimus out of Chancery expressly commanded them, among other things, *Ut fines omnium eorum qui juxta Proclamationem prædict. ordinem ante prædict. diem suscepisse debuerant, Capiatis, &c.* It was worth their Lordships Observation, that that Misfortune commonly attended (and might it ever) those absolute disused Rights ; that let the thing in itself be in some Measure lawful, the Advisers and Ministers of it so failed in the Execution, that as it usually proved Grievous to the Subject, so by some Circumstances it proved as Penal to the Instruments, as if it were in the very nature of the Thing, against the Laws of Government.

He

He told their Lordships in what Dress of Injustice, Subtilty and Oppression, he very unwillingly was forced to present those Judges before them; that if they appear'd to their Lordships under any other Character of known and confessed Learning in the whole Course of their Lives, their Lordships were only to judge how far that aggravated their Faults: That if under the Excuse of Ignorance, or but little Knowledge in the Duties of their Places, their Lordships would easily conclude what infinite Mischief, of which their Lordships had no particular Information, the Subjects had suffered in their Lives and Fortunes under such Ignorance and Presumption: That if under the Reputation of Prudence and Integrity in all Cases, except those presented to their Lordships, they would at least concur with the Opinion the Lacedemonian had of the Athenians; That if they carried themselves well formerly and ill now, they deserved a double Punishment, because they were not Good as they had been, and because they were Evil as they had not been.

That if the excellent and envied Constitution of the Government had of late been Sick, their Lordships saw the Cause of it; that if the sweet Harmony between the King's Protection and the Subjects Obedience had unluckily suffered Interruption; that if the Royal Justice and Honour of the best of Kings had been mistaken by his People; that if the Duty and Affection of the most faithful and loyal Nation had been suspected by their Gracious Sovereign; that if by these Misrepresentations and Misunderstandings the King and People had been robbed of the Delight and Comfort of each other, and the blessed Peace of the Island shaken and frightened into Tumults and Commotions, into the Poverty, tho' not into the Rage, of War, as a People prepared for Destruction and Desolation: These were the Men that Actively or Passively, by Doing and not Doing, had brought all that upon them: *Misera servitus falso pax vocatur; ubi Judicia deficiunt, incipit bellum.* This said, He concluded that he was commanded by the House of Commons to desire their Lordships, that those Three Judges might be speedily required to answer these Impeachments, and that such further Proceedings might be had against them, as the Method and Justice of Parliament would admit.



But Mr. *Hide* finding things carried to too great an extremity in the House of Commons, devoted himself wholly to the Royal Cause, and went with the King to *York*, in 1642, with whom he afterwards continued, and served him with the utmost Application and Fidelity. And indeed His Majesty found him very useful to him, not only in his Council, but also in drawing his Declarations and Replies to the Parliament from time to time.

All things tending furiously towards a Civil War, Sir *Edward Hide* (for His Majesty had now conferr'd the Honour of Knighthood upon him) attended the King to *Nottingham*. The Parliament were so incensed at him for leaving them, that in their Instructions to the Earl of *Effex* their General, they excepted him, among a few others, from any Grace or Favour of theirs.

Sir *Edward* being a Gentleman of the Gown, it was not his Province to fight, and for that reason there cannot be so much mention made of him as of some others, in the Course of the Civil Wars: But when the Treaty of *Uxbridge* was set on foot, he being then Chancellor of the Exchequer, was constituted by His Majesty one of the Commissioners in that Treaty: Wherein he pleaded stoutly for the established Government of the Church, and the King's Right to dispose of the Militia, &c.

When the King's Affairs were grown desperate, and it became necessary to transport the Prince of *Wales* into Foreign Parts, Sir *Edward Hide* was utterly against his being carried into *France*, and advised his going to the Isles of *Scilly* and *Fersey*; where he remain'd for some time with Sir *Edward* and others attending on him. During their abode there, the King writ to Sir *Edward* a very kind Letter, with his own Hand, thanking him for undertaking the *History of the Rebellion*, and telling him withal, he might expect shortly to receive some Contribution from him towards it. And in a very little time after he sent to him his own Memorials (or those which by his Command had been kept, and were perused and corrected by himself) of all that had passed from the time he had left His Majesty at *Oxford*, when he waited upon the Prince into the *West*, to the very Day that the King left *Oxford* to go to the *Scots*.

The Prince being now King, in the room of his Father, who was barbarously murder'd, had the faithful Attendance and Service of Sir *Edward Hyde* through all places of his Exile. While they were at *Paris* they had, for some time, a place allow'd them for Publick Worship, according to the Church of *England*. But when that was deny'd them, and the *French* Protestant Ministers of *Charenton* press'd the King to go to their Church, and were seconded therein by the Lord *Jermyn*, Sir *Edward*, with equal earnestness, dissuaded His Majesty from going thither; telling him, That that People had not deserv'd so great a Favour from him: For as soon as the Troubles begun, the *Hugonots* of *France* had generally express'd great Malice against the late King; and very many of their Preachers and Ministers had publickly and industriously justified the Rebellion, and pray'd for the good Success of it: And their Synod itself had in such a manner inveigh'd against the Church of *England*, that they, upon the Matter, profess'd themselves to be of another Religion, and against Episcopacy, as if it were inconsistent with Protestantism. One of their great Professors in their University of *Saumur*, who was look'd upon as a Man of the most moderate Spirit amongst their Ministers, had published an Apology for the general Inclination of that Party to the Proceedings of the Parliament of *England*, lest it might give some Jealousy to their own King of their Inclination to Rebellion, and of their Opinion that it was lawful for Subjects to take up Arms against their Prince; which, he said, could not be done in *France* without manifest Rebellion, and incurring the Displeasure of GOD for the manifest Breach of his Commandments; because the King of *France* was an absolute King, and independent upon any other Authority: But that the Constitution of the Kingdom of *England* was of another Nature, because the King there was subordinate to the Parliament, which had authority to raise Arms for the Reformation of Religion, or for executing the publick Justice of the Kingdom against all those who violated the Laws of the Nation; so that the War might be just there, which in no Case could be warrantable in *France*. He added, That after such an Indignity offer'd to him and to his Crown, and since they had now made such a distinction between the Episcopal and the Presbyterian Government, that they thought the Professors were not of the same Religion, his going to *Charenton* could not be without this effect,

effect, that it would be concluded every where, that His Majesty thought the one or the other Profession to be indifferent ; which would be one of the most deadly Wounds to the Church of *England* that it had yet ever suffer'd. These Reasons moved the King to declare positively, that he would not go to *Charenton* ; for which many were very angry with Sir *Edward* as an implacable Enemy of the *Presbyterians*.

In the Distress which the King suffer'd during his abode in *France*, Sir *Edward Hide*'s Part was the most uneasy and grievous. And the Queen's Displeasure was so notorious against him, that tho' he had the Honour to lodge in the same House with Her Majesty, he did not see her Face for many Months ; and she was not reserved in declaring, that she was exceedingly desirous to remove him from the King. Last of all, when the King, weary of *France*, retired into *Germany*, she parted with Sir *Edward* in disgust.

In the *Crifmas* Holidays before *Cromwel's* Death, His Majesty was pleased to constitute Sir *Edward Hide* Lord Chancellor of *England* ; of whose Capacity, as well as Integrity His Majesty had so long and convincing Experience, that he was the more ready to leave all to him.

The Lord Chancellor (upon the Restoration) was very Instrumental with the King, to grant his Subjects the largest Concessions of Favour and Indemnity, that could well be imagined. And he drew up His Majesty's Declarations and Speeches to that purpose.

In the Month of *October* 1660, the University of *Oxford* were pleased to make choice of Sir *Edward Hide* for their Chancellor. About the same time he was one of those Lords put in Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer* to try the Regicides. And His Majesty, on the 3d of *November*, was pleased, in Gratitude for the long and faithful Services of the Lord Chancellor, and as an Instance of his Royal Favour, to raise him to the Degree of a Baron of *England*, by the Title of Lord *Hide* of *Hindon* in the County of *Wilts*. And on the 20th of *April* 1661, he created him Viscount *Cornbury* in the County of *Oxford*, and Earl of *Clarendon* in *Wiltshire*, being the first of those Six Earls who were created against His Majesty's Coronation.

This Year the Chancellor's Conduct was blamed in the Affair of Marriage between our King and the Infanta of *Portugal*. 'Tis true, his Daughter was married to the Duke



Duke of *York*, then presumptive Heir to the Crown. But that he should be the Contriver of the Match with *Portugal*, in order to bring his Daughters's Children to sit on the Throne, is as great a piece of Forgery and Falshood as ever could be put upon a Man. The Age of the Infanta, and the Examples of other Women, overthrow the presumption that she was past bearing of Children. She was much about Three and Twenty and an half when the Marriage was consummated. And for Examples of this kind, her own Mother, the Dutcheß of *Braganza*, was older than she at the time when she was delivered of her. *Anne* of *Austria*, eldest Daughter to *Philip* III. of *Spain*, had been married as many Years, within a few Months, as *Queen Catharine* was old at the time of her Marriage, before she had *Lewis* XIV. the present *French* King, who was the first Child she had.

It was another great weakning to the Lord Chancellor's Interest and Stability at Court, that Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* was put out of his Office of Secretary of State, *Octob.* 2. 1662. and that Sir *Henry Bennet*, afterwards Earl of *Arlington*, no real Friend of the Chancellors, and one that at length died a Papist, was put into his place. But the greatest Storm many times proceeds from the most unexpected Quarter. There had been a long course of uninterrupted Friendship, both at Home and Abroad, in a prosperous and adverse Fortune, between *George* Earl of *Bristol*, and the Earl of *Clarendon*; so that the same seemed to be like the *Gordian-Knot*, indissoluble. But the Chancellor refusing a small Boon, as the Earl of *Bristol* took it to be, which, 'twas said, was the passing a Patent in favour of a Court Lady, and wherein the Chancellor, who was best Judge of his own Office, was certainly in the right; this so sower'd the others Spirits, as never imagining he should be denied, that his Thoughts, from thenceforwards, suggested nothing to him but Revenge. And having digested all things within himself which he imagined might tend to the Disadvantage and Ruin of the Chancellor, after a bitter and artful Speech, he exhibited Articles of High-Treason and other Misdemeanors against him in the House of Lords, on the 10th of *July*, 1663. But the Lord Chancellor was cleared from this Impeachment by the Judges and the House of Peers. This Earl of *Bristol*, who thus Impeached the Chancellor, was that Lord *Digby* so often mentioned in the *History* of  
the

*the Rebellion*, who, upon the Decease of his Father in *France*, Anno 1654, came to be Earl of *Bristol*.

This bold Attack upon the Chancellor, tho' he came off with Honour, render'd him more Cautious and Circumspect in his Conduct; so that things, in all outward appearance, went smoothly on for some time; till the *Dutch War* broke out, which the Libellers of that Age made to be one of his heinous Crimes, though he abhorred it.

After the Conclusion of this War, the Chancellor's Fall came on apace. The King must part with his best Counsellor, most sincere Friend, and Companion of his Fortunes, for a new set of Favourites, who had much less Skill in managing the Reins of Government. As soon as ever the Great-Seal was taken from him, which was on the 30th of *August*, 1667, it is incredible with what Rage and Fury his Enemies fell upon him. When the Parliament met on the 10th of *October*, Both Houses thanked His Majesty for having removed the Earl of *Clarendon* from his Office. And Mr. *Edward Seymour* charged his Lordship, *viva voce*, with many Great Crimes.

The Earl seeing no hopes of allaying this Storm so raised against him, thought it most advisable to withdraw himself, and only to leave behind him some written Vindication of his Innocence and Honour; which he did in a Paper thus Intituled:

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, the Humble Petition and Address of *Edward Earl of Clarendon*.

May it please your Lordships,

**I** Cannot express the insupportable Trouble and Grief of Mind I sustain under the apprehension of being Misrepresented to your Lordships; and when I hear how much of your Lordships Time hath been spent upon the mention of me, as it is attended with more Publick Consequences, and of the differences of Opinion which have already, or may probably arise between your Lordships and the Honourable House of Commons, whereby the great and weighty Affairs of the Kingdom may be obstructed in the time of so general a dissatisfaction.

I am very unfortunate to find myself suffer so much under

der two very disadvantageous Reflections, which are in no Degree applicable to me.

The First, from the greatness of my Estate and Fortune, collected and made in so few Years, which, if it be proportionable to what is reported, may very reasonably cause my Integrity to be suspected.

The Second, That I have been the sole Manager and chief Minister in all the Transactions of State, since the King's return into England to August last; and therefore that all Miscarriages and Misfortunes ought to be imputed to me and my Counsels.

Concerning my Estate, your Lordships will not believe that after Malice and Envy have been so inquisitive and so sharp-sighted, I will offer any thing to your Lordships but what is exactly true; and I do assure your Lordships, in the first place, that (excepting from the King's Bounty) I have never received nor taken One Penny but what was generally understood to be the just lawful Perquisites of my Office, by the constant Practice of the best Times, which I did, in my own Judgment, conceive to be that of my Lord Coventry and my Lord Elsinere; the practice of which I constantly observed, altho' the Office, in both their Times, was lawfully worth double to what it was to me, and I believe now is. That all the Courtesies and Favours which I have been able to obtain from the King for other Persons in Church or State, or in Westminster-Hall, have never been worth to me Five Pounds. So that your Lordships may be confident I am as innocent from Corruption as from any disloyal Thought; which, after near 30 Years Service of the Crown in some Difficulties and Distresses, I did never expect would be objected to me in my Age. And I do assure your Lordships, and shall make it very manifest, that the several Sums of Money, and some parcels of Land which His Majesty hath bountifully bestow'd upon me since his return into England, are worth more than all I have amounts unto: So far am I from advancing my Estate by indirect means. And tho' this Bounty of his hath very far exceeded my Merit or Expectation, yet some others have been as Fortunate at least in the same Bounty, who had as small Pretences to it, and have no great Reason to envy my Condition.

Concerning the other Imputation of the Credit and Power of being Chief-Minister, and so causing all to be done that

I had



*I had a mind to, I have no more to say, than that I have had the good Fortune to serve a Master of a very great Judgment and Understanding, and to be always join'd with Persons of great Ability and Experience, without whose Advice and Concurrence never any thing hath been done.*

*Before His Majesty's coming into England, he was constantly attended by the then Marquis of Ormond, the late Lord Culpeper, and Mr. Secretary Nicholas, who were equally trusted with myself, and without whose joint Advice and Concurrence, when they were all present (as some of them always were) I never gave any Counsel. As soon as it pleased GOD to bring His Majesty into England, he established his Privy-Council, and shortly out of them he chose a number of Honourable Persons of great Reputation (who for the most part are still alive) as a Committee for Foreign Affairs, and consideration of such things as in the nature of them required much Secrecy; and with these Persons he vouchsafed to join me: And I am confident this Committee never transacted any thing of Moment (His Majesty being always present) without presenting the same first to the Council-Board; and I must appeal to them concerning my Carriage, and whether we were not all of one Mind in Matters of Importance.*

*For more than Two Years I never knew any differences in the Councils, or that there were any Complaints in the Kingdom; which I wholly impute to His Majesty's great Wisdom, and the entire Concurrence of his Counsellors, without the Vanity of assuming anything to myself: And therefore I hope I shall not be singly charged with anything that hath since fallen out amiss. But from the time Mr. Secretary Nicholas was removed from his Place, there were great Alterations: And whosoever knew any thing of the Court and Councils, know well how much my Credit hath since that time been diminished; tho' His Majesty graciously vouchsafed still to hear my Advice in most of his Affairs. Nor hath there been, from that time to this, above one or two Persons brought to the Council, or preferred to any considerable Office in the Court, who have been of my intimate Acquaintance, or suspected to have any Kindness for me; and most of them most notoriously known to have been very long my Enemies, and of different Judgment and Principles from me, both in Church and State;*

State ; and have taken all Opportunities to lessen my Credit with the King, and with all other Persons, by misrepresenting and misreporting all that I said or did ; and perswading Men I have done them some Prejudice with His Majesty, or crossed them in some of their Pretensions ; tho' His Majesty's Goodness and Justice was such, that it made little Impression upon him.

In my humble Opinion, the great Misfortunes of the Kingdom have proceeded from the War, to which it is notoriously known that I was always most averse, and may without Vanity say, I did not only foresee, but declare the Mischiefs we should run into, by entering into a War before any Alliances made with the Neighbouring Princes : And that it may not be imputed to His Majesty's want of Care, or the Negligence of his Counsellors, that no such Alliances were enter'd into, I must take the boldness to say, His Majesty left nothing unattempted in order thereunto, knowing this well, that France resolved to begin a War upon Spain, as soon as His Catholick Majesty should depart this World ; which being much sooner expected by them, they had in the Two Winters before been at great Charges in providing plentiful Magazines of all Provisions upon the Frontiers, that they might be ready for the War : His Majesty used all possible Means to prepare and dispose the Spaniard with that Apprehension, offering His Friendship to that degree as might be for the Benefit and Security of both Crowns.

But Spain flattering itself that France would not break with them, at least that they would not give them any Cause, by administering Matter of Jealousy to them, never made any real approach towards a Friendship with His Majesty ; but both by their Ambassadors here, and to His Majesty's Ambassador at Madrid, always persisted, as Preliminaries, upon the giving up of Dunkirk, Tangier, and Jamaica.

Tho' France had an Ambassador here, to whom a Project of a Treaty was offer'd, and the Lord Hollis, His Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, used all Endeavours to pursue and prosecute the said Treaty, yet it was quickly discern'd, that the principal Design of France was to draw His Majesty into such a nearer Alliance as might advance their Design, without which they had no Mind to enter into the Treaty proposed. And this was the State of Affairs, when

when the War was enter'd into with the Dutch, from which time neither Crown much consider'd making any Alliance with England.

As I did from my Soul abhor the entering into this War, so I presumed never to give any Advice or Counsel for the way of managing it, but by opposing many Propositions which seem'd to the late Lord Treasurer and myself to be unreasonable; as the payment of the Seamen by Tickets, and many other Particulars which added to the Expence; my Enemies took all Occasions to inveigh against me, and making their Friendship with others out of the Council, of more Licentious Principles, and who knew well enough how much I dislik'd and complain'd of the Liberty they took to themselves of reviling all Counsels and Counsellors, and turning all things Serious and Sacred into Ridicule; they took all ways imaginable to render me ungrateful to all sorts of Men (whom I shall be compelled to name in my Defence) perswading those who miscarried in any of their Designs, that it was the Chancellor's doing; whereof I never knew any thing. However, they could not withdraw the King's Favour from me, who was still pleas'd to use my Service with others; nor was there ever any thing done but with the joint Advice of at least the major part of those who were consulted with. And as His Majesty commanded my Service in the late Treaties, so I never gave the least Advice in private, nor wrote one Letter to any one Person in either of those Negotiations, but upon the Advice of the Council, or at least by the King himself and some others. And if I prepared any Instructions or Memorials, it was by the King's Command, and the Request of the Secretaries, who desired my Assistance: Nor was it any Wish of my own that any Ambassador should give me any Account of the Transactions, but to the Secretaries, to whom I was always ready to advise: Nor am I conscious to myself of ever having given Advice that hath proved Mischievous or Inconvenient to His Majesty. And I have been so far from being the sole Manager of Affairs, that I have not in the whole last Year been above twice with His Majesty in any Room alone, and very seldom in the Two or Three Years preceding. And since the Parliament at Oxford it hath been very visible that my Credit hath been very little, and that very few things have been hearken'd to, which have been propos'd by me, but contradicted, *eo nomine*, because propos'd by me. I most



I most humbly beseech your Lordships to remember the Office and Trust I had for Seven Years, in which, in discharge of my Duty, I was obliged to stop and obstruct many Mens Pretences, and refused to set the Seal to many Pardons and other Grants which would have been profitable to those who procured them; and many whereof, upon my Representation to His Majesty, were for ever stopt, which naturally has raised many Enemies to me. And my frequent concurring, upon the Desires of the late Lord Treasurer (with whom I had the Honour to have a long and vast Friendship till his Death) in representing several Excesses and Exorbitances, the yearly Issue so far exceeding the Revenues, provoked many Persons concern'd, of great Power and Credit, to do me all the Ill Offices they could. And yet I may faithfully say, that I never medled with any part of the Revenue, or the Administration of it, but when I was desired by the late Lord Treasurer to give him my Assistance and Advice, having had the Honour formerly to serve the Crown as Chancellor of the Exchequer, which was, for the most part, in His Majesty's Presence. Nor have I ever been in the least Degree concern'd, in point of Profit, in Letting any part of His Majesty's Revenue, nor have ever treated or debated it but in His Majesty's Presence, in which my Opinion concurr'd always with the major part of the Counsellors who were present.

All which, upon Examination, will be made manifest to your Lordships, how much soever my Integrity is blasted by the Malice of those who, I am confident, do not believe themselves. Nor have I, in my Life, upon all the Treaties, or otherwise, received the value of one Shilling from all the Kings or Princes in the World (excepting the Books of the Louvre Print, sent me by the Chancellor of France, by that King's Direction) but from my own Master, to whose entire Service, and the Good and Welfare of my Country, no Man's Heart was ever more devoted.

This being my present Condition, I do most humbly beseech your Lordships to entertain a favourable Opinion of me, and to believe me to be Innocent from those foul Aspersions, until the contrary shall be proved, which I am sure can never be by any Man worthy to be believed.

And since the Distempers of the Times, and the Difference between the Two Houses in the present Debate, with the Power and Malice of my Enemies, who gave out that  
I should

*I should prevail with His Majesty to prorogue or dissolve this Parliament in displeasure, and threaten to expose me to the Rage and Fury of the People, may make me to be looked upon as the Cause which obstructs the King's Service, and Unity and Peace of the Kingdom :*

*I most humbly beseech your Lordships, that I may not forfeit your Lordships Favour and Protection, by withdrawing myself from so powerful a Persecution, in hope that I may be able, by such withdrawing, hereafter to appear and make my Defence, when His Majesty's Justice (to which I shall always submit) may not be obstructed or controuled by the Power and Malice of those who have sworn my Destruction.*

CLARENDON:

This Answer was voted Seditious, and order'd to be burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman ; which was done accordingly : And a Bill past Both Houses for Banishing and Disabling the Earl of Clarendon, which, on the 19th of December had the Royal Assent by Commission.

Soon after the Earl's Disgrace and Exile, 'tis certain that Popery began to appear more barefac'd than ever. It is not to be doubted but his Lordship knew that the Duke of York had a long time been Popishly affected : a Hint of it he seems to give us in his History. And therefore when he heard the certain but dismal News of his Daughter the Dutchess of York's having embraced the Roman Catholick Religion, he very artfully wrote to His Royal Highness about it, as if he had been still a sincere Protestant ; and his Letter is so justly and judiciously penn'd, that it cannot but merit a place here, and be an Ornament to his Life.

S I R,

*I Have not presumed in any manner to approach your Royal Presence, since I have been mark'd with the brand of Banishment: And I would still with the same Awe forbear this Presumption, if I did not believe myself bound by all the Obligations of Duty, to make this Address to you. I have been too much acquainted with the Presumption and Impudence of the Times in raising false and scandalous Reproaches upon innocent and worthy Persons, of all Qualities and Degrees, to give Credit to those bold Whispers which have been too long scatter'd abroad concerning your*  
*Wife's*

*Wife's being shaken in her Religion.. But when those Whispers break out into Noise, and Publick Persons begin to report that the Dutcheſs is become a Roman Catholick: When I heard that many Worthy Persons of unquestionable Devotion to your Royal Highneſs, are not without ſome fear and apprehenſion of it; and many Reflections are made from thence to the prejudice of your Royal Perſon, and even of the King's Majeſty; I hope it may not miſbecome me, at what diſtance ſoever, to caſt myſelf at your Feet, and beſeech you to look to this Matter in time, and to apply ſome Antidote to expel the Poyſon of it. It is not poſſible your Royal Highneſs can be without Zeal and entire Devotion for that Church, for the purity and preſervation whereof your Bleſſed Father made himſelf a Sacrifice; and to the Reſtoration whereof you have contributed ſo much yourſelf, and which highly deſerves the King's Protection and yours, ſince there can be no poſſible defection in the Hearts of the People, whiſt due Reverence is paid to the Church. Your Wife is ſo generally believed to have ſo perfect Duty and entire Reſignation to the Will of your Highneſs, that any defection in her from her Religion, will be imputed to want of Circumſpection in you, and not uſing your Authority; or to your Connivance. I need not tell the ill Conſequence that ſuch a Mutation will be attended with, in reference to your Royal Highneſs, and even to the King himſelf, whoſe greateſt Security (under GOD) is the Affection and Duty of his Proteſtant Subjects. Your Royal Highneſs well knows how far I have always been from wiſhing that the Roman Catholicks ſhould be proſecuted with Severity; but I leſs wiſh it ſhould ever be in their Power to be able to proſecute thoſe that differ from them, ſince we well know how little Moderation they would or could uſe.*

*And if this which People ſo much talk of (I hope without ground) ſhould fall out, it might very probably raiſe a greater Storm againſt the Roman Catholicks in general, than moſt Men can wiſh; ſince after ſuch a Breach, any Jealouſy of their Preſumption would ſeem reaſonable. I have written to the Dutcheſs with the freedom and affection of a troubled and perplexed Father. I do moſt humbly beſeech your Royal Highneſs, by your Authority, to reſcue her from bringing a Miſchief upon you and herſelf, that never can be repaired; and to think it worthy your Wiſ-*



*dom to remove and dispel those Reproaches (how false soever) by better Evidence than Contempt; and I hope you do believe, that no Severity I have or can undergo, shall in any degree lessen or diminish my most profound Duty to His Majesty or your Royal Highness, but that I do with all imaginable Obedience submit to your good pleasure in all things.*

GOD preserve your Royal Highness, and keep me in your Favour.

S I R,

Your Royal Highness's most Humble  
and Obedient Servant,

CLARENDON.

Another he writ to the Dutchess upon the same Subject; wherein, tho' he shews a very commendable Distance and Respect, upon account of the difference of their Conditions, yet he uses the Freedom and Authority, as well as the tenderness of a Father.

**Y**OU have much reason to believe, that I have no mind to trouble you or displease you, especially in an Argument that is so unpleasant and grievous to myself. But as no distance of place that is between us, in respect of our Residence, or the greater distance in respect of the High Condition you are in, can make me less your Father, or absolve me from performing those Obligations which that Relation requires from me; so when I receive any credible Advertisment of what reflects upon you in point of Honour, Conscience, or Discretion, I ought not to omit the informing you of it, or administering such Advice to you, as to my Understanding seems reasonable, and which, I must still hope, will have some Credit with you. I will confess to you, that what you wrote to me many Months since, upon those Reproaches which I told you were generally reported concerning your defection in Religion, gave me so much satisfaction, that I believed them to proceed from that ill Spirit of the Time that delights in Slanders and Calumny. But I must tell you, the same Report increases of late very much; and I myself saw a Letter the last  
Week

*Week from Paris, from a Person who said the English Ambassador assured him the Day before, that the Dutcheſs was become a Roman Catholick: And (which makes greater Impreſſion upon me) I am aſſured, that many good Men in England, who have great Affection for you and me, and who have thought nothing more impoſſible, than that there ſhould be ſuch a Change in you, are at preſent under much Affliction with the Obſervation of a great Change in your Courſe of Life, and that conſtant exerciſe of Devotion which was ſo notorious; and do apprehend from your frequent Diſcourſes, that you have not the ſame Reverence and Veneration, which you uſed to have for the Church of England, the Church in which you were baptized, and the Church the beſt conſtituted, and the moſt free from Errors of any Chriſtian Church this Day in the World: And that ſome Perſons, by their Inſinuations, have prevailed with you to have a better Opinion of that which is moſt oppoſite to it, the Church of Rome, than the Integrity thereof deſerves. It is not yet in my Power to believe; that your Wit and Underſtanding (with GOD's Bleſſing upon both) can ſuffer you to be ſhaken further than with Melancholick Reſlections upon the Iniquity and Wickedneſs of the Age we live in, which diſcredits all Religion, and which, with equal Liſenſe, breaks into the Profeſſors of all, and prevails upon the Members of all Churches, and whoſe Manners will have no benefit from the Faith of any Church.*

*I preſume you do not entangle yourſelf in the particular Controverſies between the Romaniſts and us, or think yourſelf a competent Judge of all Difficulties which occur therein; and therefore it muſt be ſome fallacious Argument of Antiquity and Univerſality, confidently urged by Men who know leſs than many of thoſe you are acquainted with, and ought leſs to be believed by you, that can raiſe any Doubts or Scruples in you. And if you will with equal Temper hear thoſe who are well able to inform you in all ſuch Particulars, it is not poſſible for you to ſuck in that Poiſon, which can only corrupt and prevail over you, by ſtopping your own Ears, and ſhutting your own Eyes. There are but Two Perſons in the World who have greater Authority with you than I can pretend to; and I am ſure they both ſuffer more in this Rumour, and would ſuffer much more, if there were Ground for it, than I can do.*

*And truly I am as unlikely to be deceived myself, or to deceive you, as any Man who endeavours to pervert you in your Religion. And therefore I beseech you let me have so much Credit with you, as to perswade you to communicate any Doubts or Scruples which occur to you, before you suffer them to make too deep an Impression upon you. The common Argument, That there is no Salvation out of the Church, and that the Church of Rome is that only true Church, is both irrational and untrue. There are many Churches in which Salvation may be attained; and were many, even in the Apostles Time, otherwise they would not have directed their Epistles to many several Churches, in which there were different Opinions received, and very different Doctrines taught. There is indeed but one Faith in which we can be saved, The stedfast Belief of the Birth, Passion, and Resurrection of our Saviour; and every Church that receives and embraces that Faith, is in a State of Salvation. If the Apostles preached true Doctrine, the reception and retention of many Errors doth not destroy the Essence of a Church: If it did, the Church of Rome would be in as ill, if not in a worse Condition, than most other Christian Churches, because its Errors are of a greater magnitude, and more destructive to Religion. Let not the canting Discourse of the Universality and Extent of that Church, which has as little of Truth as any of the rest, prevail over you. They who will imitate the greatest part of the World must turn Heathens; for it is generally believed that above half the World is possessed by them, and that the Mahumetans possess more than half the remainder: There is as little question, that of the rest which is inhabited by Christians, one part of four is not of the Communion of the Church of Rome; and, GOD knows, in that very Communion there is as great discord in Opinion, and in Matters of as great Moment, as is between the other Christians.*

*I hear you do in publick Discourses dislike some things in the Church of England, as the Marriage of the Clergy; which is a Point that no Roman Catholick will pretend to be of the Essence of Religion, and is in use in many places which are of the Communion of the Church of Rome; as in Bohemia, and those parts of the Greek Church which submit to the Roman. And all Men know, that in the late Council of Trent, the Sacrament in both Kinds, and liberty*



erty for the Clergy to marry, was very passionately pressed, both by the Emperor and the King of France, for their Dominions; and it was afterwards granted for Germany, tho' under such Conditions as made it ineffectual: Which however shews, that it was not, nor ever can be looked upon as a matter of Religion. Christianity was many hundred Years old, before such a Restraint was ever heard of in the Church; and when it was endeavoured, it met with great Opposition, and was never submitted to. And as the positive Inhibition seems absolutely unlawful, so the Inconveniencies which result from thence, will, upon a just disquisition, be found superior to those which attend the liberty which Christian Religion permits. Those Arguments which are not strong enough to draw Persons from the Roman Communion into that of the Church of England, when Custom and Education, and a long stupid Resignation of all their Faculties to their Teachers, usually shut out all Reason to the contrary, may yet be abundant to retain those who have been baptized, and bred and instructed in the Grounds and Principles of that Religion, which are, in truth, not only founded upon the clear Authority of the Scriptures, but upon the Consent of Antiquity, and the Practice of the Primitive Church; and Men who look into Antiquity, know well by what Corruption and Violence, and with what constant and continual Opposition those Opinions which are contrary to ours, crept into the World; and how unwarrantably the Authority of the Bp. of Rome, which alone supports all the rest, came to prevail; who hath no more pretence of Authority and Power in England, than the Bishop of Paris or Toledo can as reasonably lay claim to; and is so far from being Matter of Catholick Religion, that the Pope hath so much, and no more to do in France or Spain, or any other Catholick Dominion, than the Crown, and Laws, and Constitutions of several Kingdoms gave him leave; which makes him so little (if at all) consider'd in France, and so much in Spain. And therefore the English Catholicks which attribute so much to him, make themselves very unwarrantably of another Religion than the Catholick Church professeth; and, without doubt, they who desert the Church of England, of which they are Members, and become thereby disobedient to the Ecclesiastical and Civil Laws of their Country, and therein renounce their Subjection to the State as well as to the Church (which are

grievous Sins) had need have a better excuse than the meeting with some Doubts which they could not answer; and less than a manifest evidence that their Salvation is desperate in that Communion, cannot serve their turn. And they who imagine they have such an Evidence, ought rather to suspect that their Understanding hath forsaken them, and that they are become mad, than that the Church, which is replenish'd with all Learning and Piety requisite, can betray them to Perdition. I beseech you to consider, (which I hope will over-rule those ordinary Doubts and Objections which may be infused into you) that if you change your Religion, you renounce all Obedience and Affection to your Father, who loves you so tenderly, that such an odious Mutation would break his Heart: You condemn your Father and your Mother (whose incomparable Virtue, and Piety, and Devotion have placed her in Heaven) for having impiously educated you; and you declare the Church and State, to both which you owe Reverence and Subjection, to be in your Judgment Antichristian. You bring irreparable Dishonour, Scandal, and Prejudice to the Duke your Husband, to whom you ought to pay all imaginable Duty, and who, I presume, is much more precious to you than your own Life; and all possible Ruin to your Children, of whose Company and Conversation you must look to be deprived; for, GOD forbid that after such an Apostacy you should have any power in the Education of your Children. You have many Enemies, whom you herein would abundantly gratify; and some Friends, whom you will thereby (at least as far as in you lies) perfectly destroy; and afflict many others who have deserved well of you.

I know you are not inclined to any part of this Mischief, and therefore offer those Considerations, as all those Particulars would be the infallible Consequence of such a Conclusion. It is to me the saddest Circumstance of my Banishment, that I may not be admitted, in such a Season as this, to confer with you; when I am confident I could satisfy you in all your Doubts, and make it appear to you, that there are many Absurdities in the Roman Religion inconsistent with your Judgment and Understanding, and many Impieties inconsistent with your Conscience; so that before you can submit to the Obligations of Faith, you must divest yourself of your natural Reason and common Sense, and captivate the Dictates of your own Conscience to the Impositions

*sitions of an Authority which hath not any pretence to oblige or advise you. If you will not with freedom communicate the Doubts which occur to you, to those near you, of whose Learning and Piety you have had much Experience, let me conjure you to impart them to me, and to expect my Answer before you suffer them to prevail over you.*

GOD blefs You and Yours.

This Great Man, in the time of his Exile, sojourn'd in several Parts of *France*, till the Year 1674, where, on the 7th of *December*, he departed this Life near *Roan*, the Capital City of the Province of *Normandy*; from whence his Body was convey'd into *England*, and buried on the North-side of *Capella Regum* in *Westminster-Abby*.

It was the Fate of this Noble Earl, not only to be ill spoken of, and barbarously treated in his Life-time, but even after Death; and that not only by the Populace, who run away with vulgar Notions and Errors, and are very fond of Defamation, but even by some of superior Rank and Learning. Mr. *Antony a-Wood*, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, branded him with Corruption and Ill Practices while he was Lord Chancellor and Minister of State. Whereupon the University of *Oxford* generously vindicated their once Honoured Chancellor; and made this following Order against that Writer; which was publickly printed in Form following:

“ On the 29th of *July*, 1693, Mr. *Antony a-Wood* was  
 “ condemned in the Chancellor's Court of the University of  
 “ *Oxford*, for having written and published, in the second  
 “ Volume of his Book, entituled, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, di-  
 “ vers infamous Libels against the Earl of *Clarendon*, and  
 “ was therefore banished the said University, until such  
 “ time as he should subscribe such a publick Recantation as  
 “ the Judge of the Court should approve of, and give se-  
 “ curity not to offend in the like nature for the future; and  
 “ his said Book [that is, such Sheets as contain'd Reflections  
 “ on his Lordship] was order'd to be burnt before the pub-  
 “ lick Theater; and the same Day it was burnt accordingly,  
 “ and publick Programmas of his Expulsion were fixed in  
 “ the three usual places.



The Earl (as was noted before) had a principal Hand in the Declarations, Letters, and Speeches of King *Charles II.* in his Exile and afterwards. Besides which he wrote several Tracts; as,

*A Full Answer to an Infamous and Traiterous Libel, entituled, A Declaration of the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, expressing their Reasons and Grounds of passing their late Resolutions touching no further Address or Application to be made to the King.* Lond. 1648. 4to.

*The Difference and Disparity between the Estates and Conditions of George Duke of Buckingham and Robert Earl of Effex.* See in *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, &c. Lond. 1672. 8o.

*Animadversions on a Book entituled, Fanaticism fanatically imputed to the Catholick Church by Dr. Stillingfleet, and the Imputation refuted and retorted by Ser. Cressy.* Lond. 1674. 8o.

*A brief View and Survey of the dangerous and pernicious Errors to Church and State in Mr. Hobbs's Book, The Leviathan.* Oxon. 1676. 4to.

*The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, begun in the Year 1641. With the precedent Passages and Actions that contributed thereunto, and the happy End and Conclusion thereof, by the King's blessed Restoration and Return upon the 29th of May, 1660.* 3 Vol. Folio. Oxon. 1704. And since Printed there in 8o.

He left in Manuscript, A History, or Historical Account of Ireland; made use of by *Edmund Borlace*, without Acknowledgment, in his Book or Books published of the Affairs of that Kingdom.

F I N I S.

An Account of the several Battles, Sieges,  
&c. mention'd in these 3 Vols. and  
where they are to be found in the Lord  
Clarendon's History, to which these  
Pages refer. With a Tract of King  
CHARLES's escape from the Battle of  
Worcester.

A.

- A Bingham, 5 miles S. of Oxford, *quitted by the King's  
Forces, and possessed by the Earl of Essex.* II. 485.  
Alresford in Hampshire, *the midway between Winchester  
and Farnham, Battle there.* II. 474.  
Alton in Hampshire, *near Alresford, Skirmish there.* II. 472.  
Ash-Burton in Devonshire, *Battle there.* II. 711.

B.

- Banbury-Castle, Oxfordshire, *surrender'd to the King,* II. 57.  
*Relieved by the Earl of Northampton,* II. 544.  
Barnstable, Devonshire, *surrender'd to Sir John Digby.*  
II. 338.  
Basing-House, Hampshire, *relieved by Col. Gage,* II. 527.  
*taken by Cromwel,* II. 742.  
Bath in Somersetsire, *taken by the King's Cornish Forces,*  
II. 293.  
Bradock-Down near Liskard in Cornwall, *not far off Bod-  
min or Launceston, Battle there.* II. 133.  
Bedford, *the Capital of Bedfordshire, taken by Prince Ru-  
pert.* II. 392.  
Bediford in Devonshire, *surrender'd to Sir John Digby,*  
II. 338.  
Berwick, Northumberland, *deliver'd to the Parliament,*  
III. 171.

## An Account of the several Battles, &c.

- Bostal-House, on the Edge of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, *surrender'd to the King's Party.* II. 493.  
Bridgwater, Somersetshire, *taken by the Marquis of Hertford* II. 276. *by Sir Tho. Fairfax,* II. 678.  
Bristol (City) *besieged by Prince Rupert,* II. 293. *surrender'd to him,* 296. *deliver'd up by him,* 690.  
Bromicham, Warwickshire, *taken by Prince Rupert,* II. 233.

### C.

- Carlisle, Cumberland, *deliver'd to the Parliament.* III. 171.  
Chalgrave-Field, Oxfordshire, *the Action there.* II. 262.  
Chester (City) *Battle there,* II. 712. *Taken by Lambert,* III. 673.  
Chichester (City in Suffex) *possessed by the King's Forces,* II. 126.  
Cirencester, Gloucestershire, *won by the King's Forces,* II. 127.  
Colchester, Essex, *deliver'd,* III. 176.  
Cropedy-Bridge, Northamptonshire, *Battle there,* II. 497.

### D.

- Dartmouth, Devonshire, *taken by Prince Maurice,* II. 397.  
Devizes, Wiltshire, *besieg'd by Sir W. Waller,* II. 286.  
Donnington-Castle, *about a Mile off Newbury in Berkshire, besieged,* II. 543.  
Dorchester, *Capital of Dorsetshire, surrender'd to the King's Forces,* II. 335.  
Drogheda in Ireland, *within twenty Miles of Dublin, taken by Storm.*  
Dublin in Ireland, *blocked up by the Marquis of Ormond,* III. 319.  
Dunbar in Scotland, *Battle there.*  
Dunkirk in Flanders, *Battle there,* III. 643.  
Dunstar-Castle, *near Taunton and Bridgwater, Somersetshire, taken by the Marquis of Hertford,* II. 276.

### E.

- Edge-Hill-Fight in Warwickshire, II. 44.  
Evesham, Worcestershire, *taken by the Parliament Forces,* II. 651.  
Exeter (City) *deliver'd to Prince Maurice,* II. 339.



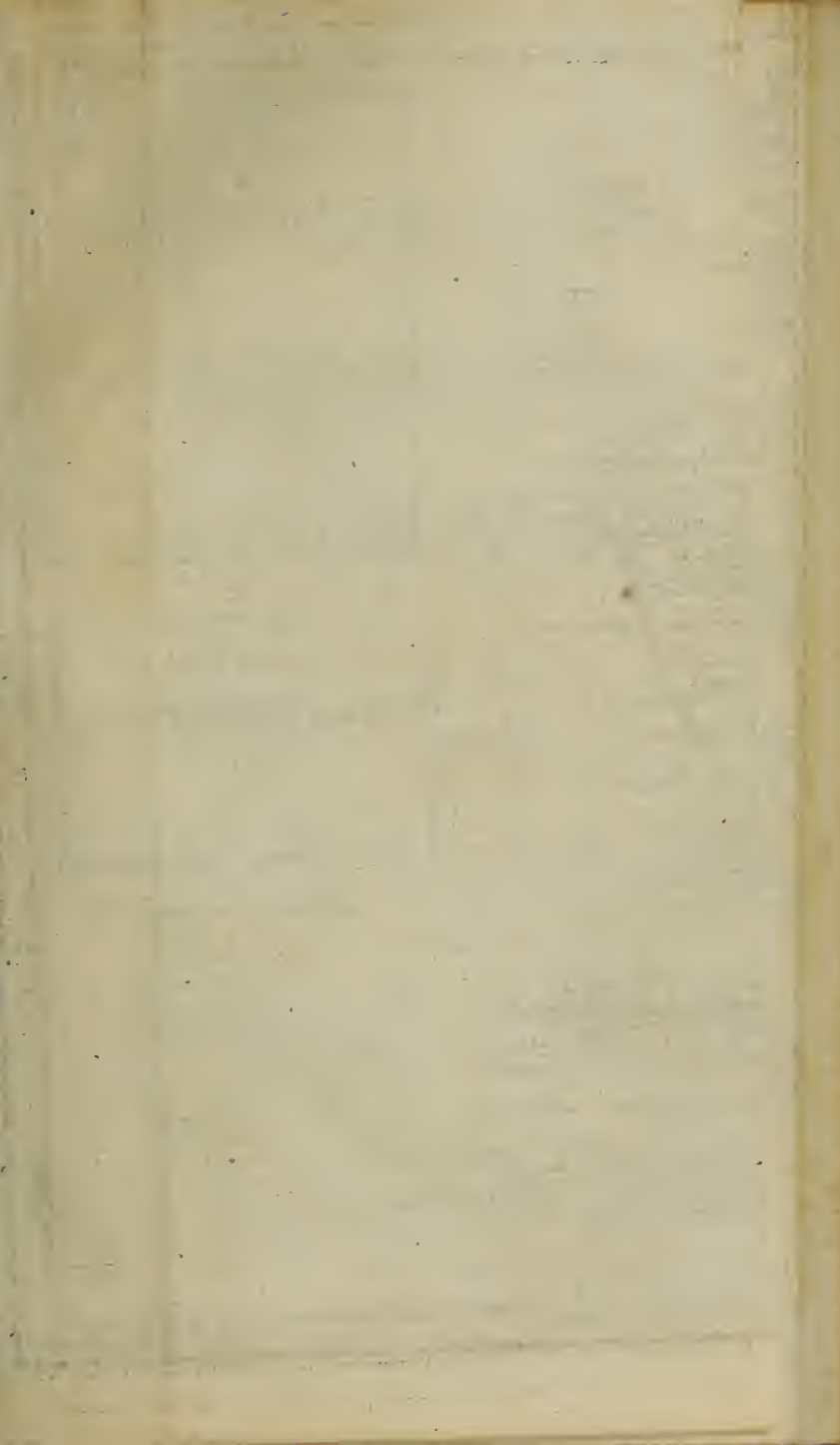


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Miles of Great Britain

- ⚡ Archbishopricks
- ⚡ Bishopricks
- \* Universities







# THE WESTERN

# ISLANDS

## The North Part of GREAT BRITAIN.

By  
Herman Moll Geographer

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Miles of Great Britain

± Bishopricks

† Universities

1. E. from London

Page 197.

The Islands of  
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The South Part of  
GREAT BRITAIN

*Divided into its Counties, with y<sup>e</sup> Roads &c.*

*By H. Moll Geographer.*

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P. OF FRANCE

2 E. from London



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## The King's Escape from Worcester.

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### F.

Farnham-Castle in Surrey, *surrender'd to the Lord Hopton*, II. 471. *retaken by Sir Will. Waller*, 472.

### G.

Glocester (City) *besieged by the King*, II. 317.  
Grantham, Lincolnshire, *taken by the King's Party*, II. 144.

### H.

Hereford (City) *taken by Sir Will. Waller*, II. 154. & 232.  
Hopton-Heath near Stafford, *Battle there*, II. 151.

### K.

*King Charles the Second's Escape from Worcester-Fight.*

1. *He sav'd himself in the Wood call'd Boscobel*, III. 410, 413.
  2. *Thence he went to a Cottage nine Miles off, out of the Road, where he lay in a Barn.*
  3. *Thence to another House twelve Miles off.*
  4. *Thence to another, and so to others.*
  5. *Thence to Mr. Lane's in Staffordshire.*
  6. *Thence to Mr. Norton's within four Miles of Bristol. He was oblig'd to pass quite through the said City.*
  7. *Next to Colonel Francis Windham's.*
  8. *Thence to an Inn near Lyme, in order to embark for France; but the Ship fail'd by an Accident. Here the King had like to have been discover'd by a Smith.*
  9. *Returns back to Colonel Windham's.*
  10. *Passes through Wiltshire, to a place near Salisbury, call'd Heale, a Seat of the Hides.*
  11. *Thence to Stone-henge.*
  12. *Thence to Bright-helmsted, where he went on Board a little Bark, and arrived safe in Normandy. See the Tract in the Map, with a Red Line.*
- Keinton, or Edge-Hill, *Battle there*, II. 44.

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# An Account of the several Battles, &c.

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## L.

Lamport *near* Taunton, Somersetshire, *Battle near it*, II. 670.

Lansdown *near* Marsfield in Gloucestershire, *Battle there*, II. 282.

Leicester, *Capital of* Leicestershire, *storm'd and taken by the King*, II. 652.

Litchfield-Close, Staffordshire, *taken by Sir John Gell*, II. 149. *by Prince Rupert*. 235.

Limrick in Ireland, *a Mutiny there*, III. 431.

Lyme, Dorsetshire, *reliev'd by the Earl of Essex*, II. 495.

Lynne, Norfolk, *a Design of surprising it*, III. 666.

## M.

Marlborough-Garison, Wiltshire, *taken by the King's Forces*, II. 83.

Marston-Moor-Fight, *within a few Miles of York*. II. 503.

## N.

Nantwich, Cheshire, *Battle there*, II. 457.

Naseby *near* Harborough, Leicestershire, *Battle there*, II. 656.

Newark, Nottinghamshire, *relieved by Prince Rupert*, II. 456.

Newbury, Berkshire, *Battle the first*, II. 347. *the second*, 546.

## O.

Oxford (City) *besieg'd*, II. 486, 649.

## P.

Pendennis-Castle, Cornwall, *surrender'd to the Parliament*, III. 39.

Pontefract-Castle in the West-Riding of Yorkshire, *besieg'd*, III. 183, 188, 192.

Portland,

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## An Account of the several Battles, &c.

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Portland, Dorsetshire, *surrender'd to the King's Forces*, II. 335.

Portsmouth, Hampshire, *besieg'd by the Parliament*, II. 277.

Preston, Lancashire, *a Fight near it*, III. 162.

### R.

Ragland-Castle, Monmouthshire, *surrender'd to the Parliament*, III. 39.

Reading-Garison, Berkshire, *deserts*, II. 70. *besieg'd*, 222. *surrender'd*, 237. *possessed again by the King*, 348. *quitted again*, 483.

Roundway-Down, *two Miles off the Devizes in Wiltshire*, *Fight there*, II. 289.

### S.

Salisbury, Wiltshire, *a Rising there*, III. 556.

Salt-ash, Cornwall, *taken by the King's Forces*, II. 134.

Scarborough-Castle, Yorkshire, *delivered up to the Queen*, II. 144.

Shrewsbury, *Capital of Shropshire*, *taken by the Parliament Forces*, II. 592.

Stafford, *Capital of Staffordshire*, *Garison'd for the King*, II. 149.

Stratton, Cornwall, *a Fight near it*, II. 270.

Sudley-Castle, Worcestershire, *surrender'd to Sir William Waller*, II. 490.

### T.

Taunton, Somersetshire, *taken by the Marquis of Hertford*, II. 275.

Tewksbury, Gloucestershire, *taken by Sir William Waller*, II. 157.

Torrington, Devonshire, *Battle there*, II. 337.

### U.

Uxbridge, Middlesex, *Treaty there*, II. 577.

Weymouth,



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## An Account of the several Battles, &c.

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### W.

Weymouth, Dorsetshire, *surrender'd to the King's Forces*, II. 335. *to the Earl of Essex*, 495. *to Sir Lewis Dives*, 592.

Winchester (City) in Hampshire, *taken by Cromwel*, II. 742.

Worcester (City) *a Rencounter there*, II. 25. *besieged by Sir William Waller*, II. 232. *Fight*, III. 408.

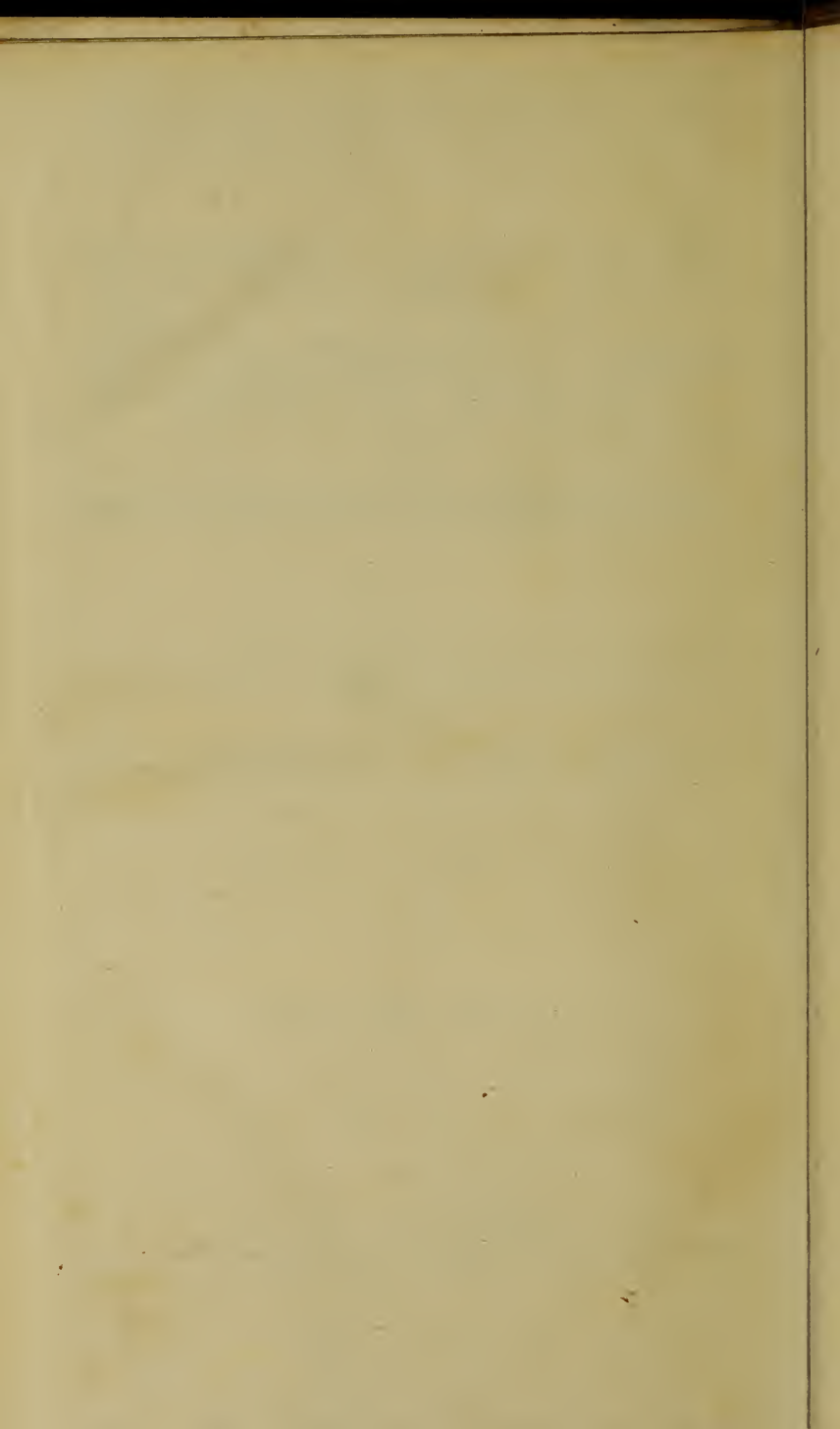
### Y.

York (City) *deliver'd to the Parliament Forces*, II. 505.

**E I N I S.**

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